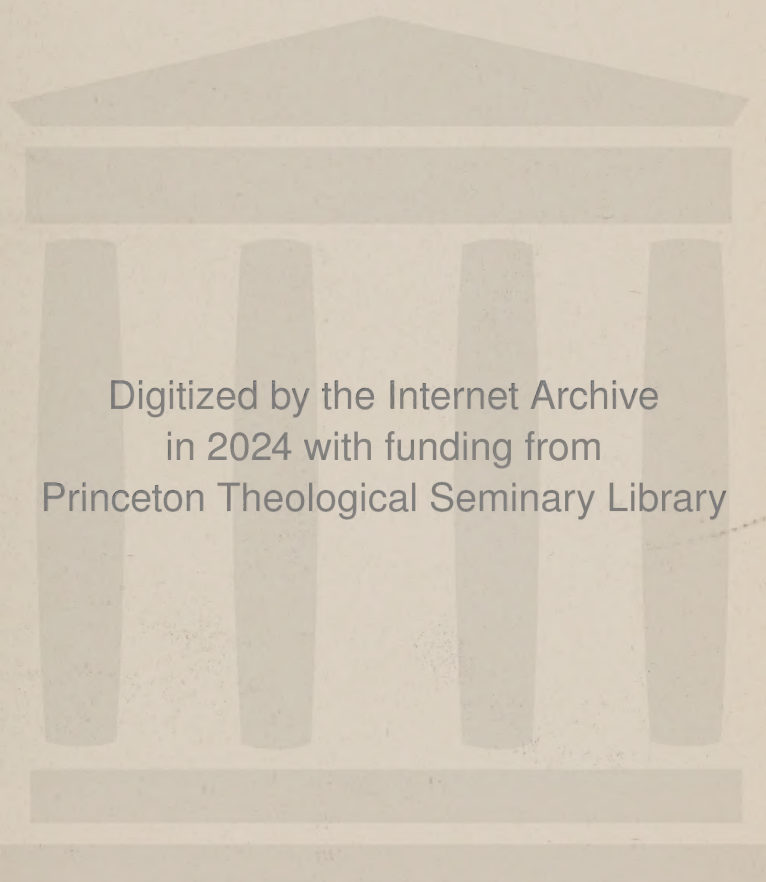


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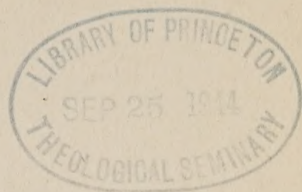
James Laynez, second General of the Society of Jesus. Cut taken from the *Imagines Praepositorum Generalium Societatis Jesu* by Arnold Van Westerhout, Rome 1748



Diego Lainez

# JAMES LAYNEZ

*Jesuit*



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BY

JOSEPH H. FICHTER, S.J.

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## *Preface*

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FROM one point of view, James Laynez is a rewarding subject for a curious biographer. He was a simple man in a complex age, and his very simplicity makes possible an easy access to the highly involved problems with which he was concerned. Simplicity is not shallowness. Complexity is not profundity. Only a profound man can be as simple and direct as Laynez was in pursuing the prime objectives of living. He saw clearly what Ignatius Loyola was trying to do with the small group of "reformed priests" who later became the Society of Jesus. He was equally clear on the intentions of the so-called Tridentine Popes, Paul III, Julius III, Pius IV, in carrying on the Church Council over a period of eighteen years.

The two major events in the life of Laynez are also the two major religious occurrences of the sixteenth century. To have played a prominent part in one of them would suffice to make a person historically important; to have taken a concurrent leading role in both of them makes James Laynez unique. The Council of Trent is acknowledged as the outstanding ecumenical council in the history of the Church, and Laynez as its outstanding theologian. The founding of the Society of Jesus has been considered the occasion of the Church's change from a defensive to an offensive attitude. I shall not say more than that for fear of exalting my own religious family, which Ignatius Loyola called "this least Society."

It is not, however, too much to say that the purpose of the Society of Jesus was identified with the purpose of the Council of Trent. The Council legislated the discipline and explained the doctrine of the Church, but the ultimate purpose of both discipline and doctrine was the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Now this is precisely why religious orders have been founded, or, to put it in another way: to glorify God by sanctifying man.

But there are degrees of glory and degrees of sanctity. In the early decades of its existence the Society of Jesus produced four front-rank saints: Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Peter Canisius, and Francis Borgia. Behind these there is a multitude of men, as St. Paul would say, "that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints" (I Cor. 1:2). And among them the best known are James Laynez, Alphonse Salmeron, Claude Le Jay, Peter Favre, and Jerome Nadal.

By any ordinary human standards of judgment these Jesuits would rank very high. Men of contemporary renown, men of high accomplishments, they were also men of great moral integrity. The first epitaph on Laynez' tomb at Madrid shows his place among them, informing us that, except for Loyola, only Laynez could be the first man in the Society. The others did not quite have his personality, experience, and general capacity in handling simultaneous and diverse problems.

It seems that the many volumes written about the Council of Trent should provide ample material for a life of Laynez. He was the most learned and the most vocal person at Trent, but the records of the Council do not actually tell enough about him. Up to now there has been no biography of him in English, and those in the continental languages are not satisfactory for a number of reasons. Hence, for factual information I have depended entirely on primary sources, mainly letters as edited in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, and speeches as edited by Hartmann Grisar in the *Disputationes Tridentinae*.

Many of the letters concerning Laynez are written in archaic Spanish and French. Auguste D. Coyle, S.J., of Loyola University, New Orleans, by his inspired interpretation, extracted the full meaning from these letters for me. His generous help in this, and my other books, cannot be fully acknowledged in these words. Some of the letters, written in old style Italian and Portuguese, were made most usable for me by Aloysius Torralba, S.J., now of the United States Army, and Agathonicus Montero, S.J., lately of the Philippines. The illustrative material was provided by John F. X. McEwen, S.J., of Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass.



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## CHAPTER I

### *To Paris, France*

---

AN enthusiastic biographer of Francis Suarez wrote that a star stood still over the house in which he was born. No one has said this about the house at Almazan, in Old Castile, where James Laynez was born. There is a story that Ignatius Loyola's mother retired to the stable on the night of his birth so that his earthly beginning should resemble that of the Savior. The story has been repeated of other Jesuits, but never of Laynez. There is a singular failure on the part of his biographers to demonstrate a childhood and youth of prodigious piety. This lack of legends is in itself a remarkable thing about Laynez because the two factors usually conducive to such legends were present in his life: the events of his childhood were practically unknown; the events of his adulthood made him one of the half-dozen best-known men in Europe.

James Laynez was born at Almazan in the province of Soria, Castile, in the year 1512. That is the bare fact attested to not only by himself but also by his contemporaries, Francis Xavier and Peter Ribadeneira. The exact date of his birth, as well as the date of his baptism, has not been preserved in the various records about him. Any one of several conjectures may account for this absence of documents: the carelessness of the local parish priest, fire or some other natural catastrophe, the vandalism of several military disturbances. At any rate, Palacin, who minutely searched through all the documents about Almazan and its vicinity, could not find the Laynez records. Earlier investigators (Ribadeneira, Alcazar, Bartoli, Boero, and Torre) were equally unsuccessful.



There is one further conjecture why Laynez' early records are no longer in existence and we cannot pass over it lightly. It is the possibility that somebody with misguided zeal wished to destroy the evidence of his Jewish ancestry.

#### LAYNEZ' JEWISH ANCESTRY

That Laynez was of Jewish extraction can no longer be doubted; but there was a time when honest and high-minded men thought that to conceal the fact would be a benefit to both religion and patriotism in Spain. Palacin attempts to justify the *limpieza de sangre* of Laynez and his ancestors, but his conclusion is based on insufficient evidence. In the archives at Alfaro, Palacin discovered an official paper issued to Alonzo Laynez and Maria Zapata in 1636, and testifying to their purity of descent. These two people were blood relatives of James Laynez. It was further discovered that from 1522 to 1628 the official position of *Alcalde y Regidor de los hijosdalgo* was held by the various members of the Laynez family of Almazan; these positions were given only to nobles and never to the descendants of Jews, Moors or heretics. Palacin published his findings in a book in 1908, but even this evidence cannot offset the conclusions reached in a controversy raging in the early years of the Society of Jesus.<sup>1</sup> The argument about Laynez' Jewish blood is not a new one, and any biographer of this great man cannot get more than a few pages into his book without trying to settle the whole question once and for all. It must be noted, therefore, that at the beginning of the seventeenth century Francis Zacchinus, in his history of the Society of Jesus, described the ancestry of Laynez in some detail, showing that he was of "new Christian" origin, that is, a descendant of converted Jews.

Violent opposition arose against Zacchinus' book especially in the province of Toledo, where the provincial congregation in 1622 asked the Jesuit General Mutius Vitelleschi to have that portion of the work deleted. These Spaniards considered it a disgrace to be a Jew and did not scruple to ask that the page should be deleted "in which this disgraceful stain and universal shame of the Society is contained,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the comments of Azagra in his *El P. Diego Laynez* (Madrid, 1933), in which he looks with favor upon the arguments of Palacin. The latter's work, published in Soria, is entitled *El venerable Padre Diego Laynez, emparentado con varias familias de la nobleza española*.

and that it should be replaced by another showing the nobility and purity of his lineage."

The reasons adduced by these men for the correction of Zacchinus' work were the following: First, the statement is false. Secondly, even if it were true, its publication would be more damaging than useful. Thirdly, the infamy would reflect not only on James Laynez but also on his well-placed relatives then living at Almazan. Fourthly, a grave penalty is laid down for anyone who propagates such charges against a Jesuit. Fifthly, if the General does not suppress the offending page, the Laynez family will itself take steps to do so. They might petition His Catholic Majesty to forbid the book in his realm. Finally, how can the Society protect its members from this mark of infamy if it admits that a General of the Society was a Jew?

With a desire to satisfy the demands of these Spanish fathers and in consideration of the racial difficulties and animosities then present in Spain, Vitelleschi permitted the objectionable genealogy to be deleted from Zacchinus' book. But he did this with his eyes open, fully aware of the fact that Laynez was a Jew, for he had asked the author to prove his point. Zacchinus' masterly refutation completely demolished the Spanish objections, and his arguments must have convinced anyone who took the trouble to study the question. The critical Astrain and the exacting editors of the *Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu* willingly accepted his testimony as proof of Laynez' Jewish ancestry.<sup>2</sup>

Father Zacchinus' reply runs to many pages and takes up in orderly fashion each of the six points made by the provincial congregation at Toledo. But the question of immediate interest is the truth of his statement about Laynez' Jewish blood, a statement which the Spaniards had called false. He gives numerous *fundamenta* to support his remark: Cardinal Bellarmine, Fathers Fabius, Spinelli, and Perez and other Jesuit experts never doubted the truth of the statement. Laynez himself did not deny his Jewish ancestry when enemies were using it as a weapon against the Society. In 1561 Nadal, addressing Philip II of Spain, answered other charges against the Society, but he did not deny the charge that Laynez, who was then General, was a Jew.

Added to all this is the fact that Laynez himself objected that, because of his race, the fathers of the first general congregation should not elect him general. If we cannot believe such a man when he testi-

<sup>2</sup> Cf., *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 831-55; Azagra, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-10; Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, I, 74 f.

fies about himself, asks Zacchinus, where in the world can we find a basis for human belief? What, then, can be certain in human affairs?

The question of the Jews, Moors, and New Christians, continued to be a serious problem in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In a letter sent to Claude Aquaviva from Madrid, January 18, 1608, Ribadeneira states positively that Laynez was in favor of admitting Jews into the Society of Jesus, maintaining that racial origin should not be made a reason for excluding anyone. Ribadeneira adds an anecdote about Ignatius Loyola: "When we were seated at table the conversation happened to turn to the Jews, and I recall that our blessed father then said: 'I would certainly consider it a great blessing of God if I had been born a Jew. Would I not then be a blood relative in the race of Jesus Christ, my Lord, and of the most holy Virgin Mary?' " <sup>3</sup>

In a letter reproving the Jesuit provincial of Aragon, Laynez himself recalled Ignatius' attitude on this problem: ". . . and the decision that such men should not be excluded from the Society, even though they receive a thorough probation after admittance. For there is no reason why we should make a distinction among persons, or close the door to any of these men if God has called them.

"But Your Reverence, in refusing to accept Moors and Jews, is not observing the wishes of Father Ignatius. These men, when they are of good character and intellect, should be accepted. But if you fear that the service of God our Lord would be impeded by the reception of these men because of their reputation or because of public opinion, you may send them to distant places where they are not known, either to other provinces there, or here . . . sending some of the best subjects to Rome in such a way that there will be no disedification." <sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu, Ribadeneira*, II, 251.

<sup>4</sup> Letter to Father Anthony Cordeses, from Bologna, July 20, 1561. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, V, 621. Cf. also VIII, 311, 322. Father Cordeses followed these instructions, but on November 6, 1564, Laynez, who then lay sick, ordered Polanco to write to one of his Spanish subjects, Alphonse Román, concerning the treatment of Moriscos. "We understand what you have written about the Moriscos, and our Father Laynez has the same opinion as Father Provincial: that there should be no lack of diligence in assisting them, and especially their sons. For this reason it is not expedient to speak ill of Mohammed, because the purpose is not to exasperate them but patiently to make them see the truth by means of reasoning and charity. It is understood, of course, that you must not neglect the Old Christians or the colleges in order to look after the needs of neophytes." Cf. *ibid.*, VIII, 284.



If there was any disgrace or any disedification attached to a Jewish lineage when James Laynez was born in 1512, it seems to have been easily overcome by the Laynez family. The man himself proved great enough to remove any so-called stigma or ignominy still remaining. As Zacchinus aptly remarks: "It is to the lasting glory of Laynez that he not only raised himself to the highest dignities, but also modified the burdensome limitations that had been put upon his race."<sup>5</sup> But his immediate forebears seemed also to have lived a truly pious and Catholic life.

By the mere accident of time the nephews and nieces of James Laynez could be included in the category of "Old Christians," but James and his generation were still considered among the "New Christians." This means that he and his brothers and sisters could not count back four generations to Christian ancestors. His great-grandfather, Hernan Laynez, was apparently the first of his line to be converted to Christianity. His grandparents, James Laynez and Gertrude Violante Coronel, were already of sufficient wealth and importance to support the chapel of Our Lady of Campanario, founded in Almazan by Hernan Laynez. They were buried in this chapel in 1524, when James was twelve years of age.

#### HIS FAMILY

John Laynez, James' father, gave a foundation to this same chapel in the form of an annual contribution of six hundred maravedi, so that the vesper bells should be rung daily for himself and his family. Facts such as this indicate that the Laynez family was made up of good, practicing Catholics and may have been, for all we know, of high excellence in Christian piety. His mother, Elizabeth Gomez de Leon, was a good woman, greatly loved by her children; but of her antecedents we know absolutely nothing. Some of James' correspondence to her is extant; except for the little light shed by them, she is shrouded in obscurity.

Numerous other details of Laynez' family history are barely discernible, as are those also of the circumstances of his youth. His mother bore seven children, four girls and three boys. From James' letters we learn that his younger brother, Christopher, was an intermittent Jesuit, restless and troublesome to his older brother. Another

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 843 f.

brother, Mark, who also became a Jesuit, is mentioned by Ribadeneira as having died at Rome in 1541. Of his four sisters, Librada became a nun in the convent of St. Clara at Almazan, Elizabeth was married to Lopez de Angunciana, Maria married Hurtado de Mendoza, and Petronilla left no record at all of her activities or vocation.

The house in which Laynez was born no longer exists, but its site was discovered by the indefatigable Palacin. Almazan was a royal city and was one of the Spanish strongholds in the War of Independence. In that war the French destroyed the Laynez residence together with numerous other houses in the city. It is still a comparatively small town, situated on a little hill and boasting of one large central plaza, an ancient mansion, and the architecturally famous church of San Miguel.

#### EARLY EDUCATION

The boy himself saw all these things more than four centuries ago when he walked the streets of his native town to the home of the Latin master. Until he was ten or twelve years old he studied the normal elementary subjects that would occupy any boy of his age. Then he went to Soria to study the finer points of the Latin language, and it was here discovered that he had more than the average boy's interest in books. Teachers noticed his "burning desire to read and write," a desire which was probably born of necessity. During his later years Laynez was often seriously ill, and we may surmise that even in childhood his constitution did not permit the vigorous bodily activities of a normal boy.

Whether or not physical disability contributed to his rapid advance in learning, we cannot be sure; but it is historically certain that from the time he went to Siguenza until he graduated from the University of Alcala he was a leader in his class. At Siguenza, James took high honors in rhetoric, the application of which can be discerned by any critic of his later sermons and speeches.

At Alcala, Laynez attended the course in philosophy at the College of San Ildefonso and gained something of a local reputation as a quick-witted platform debater. The public defense of philosophical theses was to a Spanish university town what the motion picture theater is to an American town. As there was little other entertainment, the students and professors did their best to make the debates



as interesting as possible. The best speakers drew the largest crowds, and James Laynez sought to please the crowd as well as to demonstrate the truth. People came in larger numbers each time they knew that the young man from Almazan was on the program.

On June 14, 1531, when he was nineteen years old, he received his degree of Bachelor of Arts. Evidently he was the only one of the three Laynez boys to attend the University of Alcala. There is no scholastic record for either Mark or Christopher at Alcala, or, as far as can be ascertained, at any other Spanish university. Christopher was no scholar and he was never addressed as "Master," a title of everyday usage for those who held the degree of Master of Arts. In 1542 a certain Father Santacruz wrote to Ignatius Loyola from Lisbon, saying that Christopher Laynez had no taste for study. Five years later Father Anthony Araoz wrote to the General from Monzon, telling him that Christopher was there on a visit and that "he does not appear to be very apt in scholarly pursuits."

James, then, was an exception in his own family as well as in university circles. He took the matter of self-improvement seriously, making most of his contacts among the students of high character, and forming close friendships with men of intellectual abilities. His best friend was Alphonsus Salmeron, of Toledo, three years his junior, and his constant companion in the hectic and successful periods of Laynez' later life. His knowledge of languages, philosophy, and theology, was second only to that of Laynez among the early Jesuits.

Three years is a notable difference in age among college students, especially when they are removed also by varying grades of studies, but the friendship between Laynez and Salmeron was a close one. They carried on a kind of charitable enterprise among the poor of Alcala, depending for their resources upon the money sent to James from his father. Honors and positions lifted the latter above Alphonsus in the hierarchy of student personalities. Similarities of character welded them together, and their common determination to work out their destinies in the priesthood made their friendly companionship a lasting one.

Who can say at what point they decided to become priests, or what was the main influence in their decision? These are secrets known only to the individual and, unless communicated to others, they can never be fathomed. It has frequently been conjectured that the per-

son most responsible for awakening the priestly vocation in Laynez and Salmeron was a little beak-nosed Basque of dubious reputation at Alcala.

Layne, ever since he was about fourteen, had been hearing the name of Ignatius Loyola, not always in the most flattering accents, but always in a way that aroused his interest. At Alcala in 1526 Ignatius had been minding, not his own business, but everybody's spiritual business. He had been harried by the Inquisition, had been in and out of jail several times, had left an impression on the town that could not be missed by the youthful and impressionable. He limped about the streets trying to do too many things at once: get an education, distribute clothes and food to the poor, strengthen people's souls by what he called "spiritual exercises."

No one objected either to Loyola's educating himself or to his charitable work among the poor, but certain officials did object vigorously to his novel mode of spiritual athletics. The Exercises of St. Ignatius have since become world-famous but they were the source of his troubles at Alcala. The future founder of the Society of Jesus was eventually cleared of the charges made against him there, but he decided that he could make better progress at Paris. Both Laynez and Salmeron knew of his departure and destination. Perhaps they had interviewed the man, listened to his conversational instructions on the ancient religious truths, talked about him and his strange designs. At any rate, his simple spirituality and compelling personality seem to have been the magnet that drew them to Paris in 1533.

#### MASTER OF ARTS

Toward the end of his course at Alcala, Laynez was practically certain of winning the first place on the list of those who obtained the Master's degree. Professors and students must have been equally sure of it, but some of his friends decided to use political pressure of various kinds to make certain in advance that no one would be placed above their candidate. This sort of procedure was always distasteful to him, a characteristic that is found notably in his later dealings as the head of the Society of Jesus. Forthright honesty and advancement by merit alone were practical principles of conduct for him.

Accordingly the student went to his examiners before the date of

the test and insisted that he wanted no grade higher than he merited and no courtesy that would not be extended to any other student. I am perfectly indifferent, he said, to receiving any place on the list, first, last, or in between. As we learn from his diploma, his marks were so good that the examiners unanimously voted him the highest honors. It was customary for a new master to recite a prayer of thanks, and Laynez' friends wished him to improve the usual formula and revivify it with his own lucid style. He refused to comply. The young man was anything but a show-off.

Laynez' diploma declares that he became a master of the University of Alcala on October 26, 1532, when he was twenty years old. The college that graduated him was San Ildefonso, and the board which officially passed judgment on his attainments in Aristotelian philosophy was made up of the University Rector (Peter de Lerma) and two doctors of theology (Peter de Ribas and Michael Carrasco). Many years later, recalling the circumstances of this graduation, Salmeron remarked that two other men were given precedence over Laynez in the ceremonies: a certain Cacalla who was the son of the Emperor's treasurer, and Francis Causo who had made a much longer course and was really a doctor.

A copy of Laynez' certificate of graduation as a Master of Arts of the University of Alcala has been preserved. In the phraseology peculiar to such documents, it reads in part as follows: "In accord with the holy example and the salvific commands of our Redeemer, we inform by the tenor of this document all those whom it concerns or may concern, that our beloved and prudent James Laynez, of the diocese of Sigüenza, who already holds a licentiate in the faculty of arts and philosophy, has laudably and with honors reached the grade of master in the same faculty of arts and philosophy, having undergone rigorous examinations according to the constitutions and statutes of our university, and having attended the usual ceremonies." <sup>6</sup> This document, dated at Alcala, October 26, 1532, and issued at the command of the University rector, was signed by the apostolic notary, Ricafuente.

While Laynez was making this brilliant record and receiving of-

<sup>6</sup> *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 633 f. A certain chronologist, Joseph de Uriarte, provides a statement different from this official record (which he probably never saw) and makes the amusing error of giving Laynez three degrees in one week, saying that he received his Bachelor of Arts on Sunday, October 23, and the degree of Doctor on Saturday (*sic*), October 27, 1532. Cf. *ibid.*, footnote 2.



ficial acknowledgment for it in educational circles, his compatriot, Ignatius Loyola, was still wandering in quest of knowledge and degrees. During the intervening years since his departure from Alcala, he had spent two more troublesome months at Salamanca, and had then visited some friends at Barcelona on his way to Paris. In the dead of winter at the beginning of 1528 he had walked the five hundred miles from Barcelona, up through Spain, across the Pyrenees, past the Spanish and French armies, which were again at each others' throats, and into the city of Paris. He had restudied Latin grammar, worked slavishly over philosophy, begged for funds in the Low Countries and England, had met but not quite converted Francis Xavier.

#### WITH LOYOLA IN PARIS

Carrying on the story for us in his biography of Ignatius, Polanco says:

A short time previously there arrived from Spain, James Laynez, who had made a course in the arts *cum laude* at Alcala, and had been promoted to the master's degree. Partly for the sake of pursuing his studies and partly because of a desire to meet Ignatius, he had come to Paris. Just after Laynez got off his horse at a hospice, Ignatius met him and offered him help and advice in several matters, making a friend of him at once. Master Alphonsus Salmeron, who had studied Latin, Greek, and philosophy at Alcala, and was a close friend of James Laynez and was his companion on the journey into France, was introduced by him to Ignatius. Both of these, after going through the Exercises under Ignatius' guidance at about the same time as the two aforementioned [Peter Favre and Francis Xavier] decided to follow his lead in the service of God.<sup>7</sup>

It was a strange and providential coincidence that brought Loyola, Laynez, and Salmeron together on that day in Paris in the year 1533. The two travelers from Spain were outwardly quite different from the seedy and emaciated Basque who met them. They were educated, polished, urbane products of Cardinal Ximenes' favored seat of Spanish learning. Ignatius was already in his late thirties, but still a simple undergraduate student of philosophy who had failed to graduate at Barcelona, Alcala, and Salamanca. The minds of the two others were

<sup>7</sup> *Vita Ignatii Loiolae* by John Alphonse de Polanco, chap. 7. This invaluable historical work is contained in the first volume of the *Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu* together with the *Chronicon Societatis Jesu*.

sharpened to a knife's edge on all the philosophical distinctions and nuances then known to the Schools. Loyola's wits had been sharpened by his itinerant experiences in the world. He had obtained a free passage to Palestine and begged for a night's lodging and a crust of bread through most of southern Europe.

On that first night in the murky shadows of the Paris hospice not one of them could have guessed that within fifteen years they would be talked of all over the continent. All Europe would know that a new force had descended upon the Christian world, and that these three men were largely responsible for the beginning of a new era. Here was the future founder and first general of the Society of Jesus. Here was Laynez who would succeed him as general, the man whom Ignatius praised as his most important helper in founding and organizing the Jesuit Order.

The proposition that Loyola made to Laynez in those early days could not have been very enticing from a worldly point of view. For a brilliant young scholar it meant the abandonment of a profitable and honorable career in the halls of learning. For a well-to-do young man of good family it meant a lifetime of poverty and hardship. The decision to vow perpetual chastity was probably not so difficult, for Laynez was singularly angelic all his life. The proposed trip to the Holy Land to work for the conversion of the infidel was an ordeal hard to relish, and could have been attractive only from a deeply spiritual motive.

Nevertheless Laynez made up his mind to follow Ignatius without reserve. Half-way measures were insufficient. Evidently Laynez' enthusiasm over Loyola's plans was a weighty consideration in Salmeron's own choice. At this point there is a slight disagreement in the testimony of the early Jesuits. Simon Rodriguez, who was overly anxious, I think, to show divine intervention in everything the fathers did, declares that neither Laynez nor Salmeron knew each other's plans.<sup>8</sup> They arrived at their decisions independently during the days when Ignatius gave them the Spiritual Exercises.

Laynez and Salmeron knew hardly a word of French when they first arrived at Paris, but with their trained facility in languages they

<sup>8</sup> *Commentarium de origine et progressu Societatis Jesu*, p. 3. This short and valuable work was written in 1577, about forty years after the events described. Father Rodriguez assumed a privilege of old age to add color to his reminiscences.

were soon able to carry on conversations with the natives. A man, when he first comes to a foreign country, is dismayed at his inability to speak the language. But the two strangers were helped by the versatile Loyola. Doing things like this for people was one of the ways he employed for gaining their confidence and winning them over to his designs.

With Laynez and Salmeron, the group now gathered around the energetic Loyola numbered four. Peter Favre, a gentle Savoyard peasant who loved even the heretics and prayed daily for Henry VIII and Martin Luther, and Francis Xavier, who is too well known to need a descriptive phrase here, had been the first pair to join Loyola in his spiritual venture. Another pair soon joined the group. The first was a Valencian peasant, Nicholas Bobadilla, who had the habit of brusquely blurting out his opinions to anyone at any time or place. His personality was in marked contrast to that of the proud and noble Portuguese, Simon Rodriguez.

After making the Spiritual Exercises and laying out the rough draft of his future life with these new companions, Laynez began the study of theology. Exactly what his theological courses included during this first year, or who his professors were is not known. Intellectually the ablest in the group, he certainly did not require any scholastic assistance from Peter Favre, who was already a priest, or from any of the others. Until the summer vacation in 1534, he occupied himself with study, gathered with the others occasionally, performed charitable and religious services with them, and kept a sharp eye open for new recruits.

#### THE FIRST PLANS

One of the men he tried to win over, although unsuccessfully, was Jerome Nadal, a quick and intelligent young man of twenty-seven from Palma, Majorca. The man who would later be known as the Schoolmaster of Europe had already resisted the imposing personality of Loyola. Laynez and Favre spent hours conversing and arguing with Jerome. But Jerome could neither be persuaded nor convinced. He was not going to associate himself with a group whose leader had already been in jail several times. Probably the entire group would eventually writhe in the clutches of the Inquisition. He was too cau-



tious to take a chance now, but subconsciously he was receiving the seeds of his future vocation.

The discussions during that first year in Paris led to the decision to pronounce vows in the chapel of Our Lady at Montmartre on August 15, 1534. The scene in which these seven friends vowed poverty, chastity, and a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, has been so frequently described in the biographies of the early Jesuits that it need not detain us here.

It is interesting to note, however, that during the rest of the day they talked about their immediate future, in which Laynez was to figure largely. They would finish the study of theology by 1537. Meanwhile they would meet annually at this same place and on this same date to renew their vows. They would live separately at Paris, and meet not only for dinners and spiritual reflections but also to help each other in studies. "He who had the most talent," said Polanco, probably thinking of Laynez, "would help the one who had the least." They would continue the practice of mental prayer and meditation, and the custom of weekly confession and Communion.<sup>9</sup>

While Laynez was busy with theological problems, Loyola continued his undergraduate studies in philosophy. In the spring of the year 1534, Ignatius had finally obtained his master's degree at the University of Paris. He planned to remain with the others to study theology. But shortly after the memorable feast of the Assumption, during the autumn of 1534, he was severely stricken with stomach pains; he could find no remedy from the Parisian physicians, and was advised by them to return to Spain. Before he left he put Favre in charge of the group, and agreed to meet them all in Venice in January, 1537. He made the trip to Spain on horseback.

The sickness and departure of his leader in the spring of 1535 were providential for Laynez. When he came to Paris it was not his intention to leave home permanently. But contact with Loyola had put everything in a different light. Now he was willing to forego forever the pleasure of another visit to his parents at Almazan. Certain details about his patrimony had to be settled, and he gave to Ignatius the power of attorney to take care of them.

There was a message also for his mother and father. The young

<sup>9</sup> Polanco, *op. cit.*, chap. 7.

man from Almazan was not without affection, and he wished to assure them that these spiritual plans were not a wild escapade. We do not know the contents of the message, but we do know that Loyola stopped at Almazan to deliver it. The little Basque won the Laynez family as he did almost everyone he met, and there is no record that they complained or regretted having given up their brilliant son to this prepossessing leader of men.

Events happened quietly for Laynez at Paris, and he seems to have enjoyed a state of health that was exceptional for him. He was delighted when three more men joined the group: Jean Codure, who was destined for an early death; Claude Le Jay, who became a famous preacher and professor at Ingolstadt; and Paschase Broet, who would be papal nuncio to Scotland and Jesuit provincial in Italy and France.

The companions now numbered nine in the French city. Some years later Laynez described the mutual amiability that pervaded their dealings with one another at this time. "Many times during the year we used to have intimate dinners together," he said. "On different days we would bring some food to the room of one or the other. I believe that this custom, together with numerous other visits, lifted our spirits and kept us steadfast. At the same time the Lord also helped us, especially in our studies."<sup>10</sup>

#### DEPARTURE FROM PARIS

This internal serenity among the friends continued throughout their whole stay, but there were external forces at work which made them hasten their departure for Venice. The political and military upheavals between Francis I and Emperor Charles V aroused French sentiment against Spaniards and anything Spanish. There was danger of actual physical assault upon university students who came from the Iberian peninsula, and in the autumn of 1536 Favre thought it best that the whole group should leave Paris as soon as possible. They decided to go by an indirect and longer route to Venice. Laynez says in his memoir: "Since there was war between the Emperor and the King of France, we were advised to go by way of Lorraine and Germany."

<sup>10</sup> This excerpt is from a letter to Polanco, then secretary of the Society, written June 17, 1547, chap. 3. This letter, ordinarily called *Epistola Lainii de S. Ignatio*, is an unusually accurate source of information about Loyola's dealings with the first companions.

About a month before their departure Laynez went to the dean of theology to obtain a testimonial about his studies at the University of Paris. The request was not unusual at a time when students were accustomed to travel from school to school to enjoy the lectures of famous professors. The testimonial was given as follows:

To all who read this document, the Dean and Masters of the theological faculty in the ancient and flourishing University of Paris give greetings in Him who is the true salvation of all. Since all believers in the Catholic faith are bound to the divine truth by their natural reason and by the precept of the divine law, it is even more fitting that the professors of sacred theology, who study, instruct, and teach divine things, should bear faithful testimony to this truth, so that they deviate neither through love nor favor, nor any other cause, from the correctness of truth and reason. Since, therefore we truly know, not by mere hearsay but by clear evidence, that our honorable and beloved Master James Laynez is a Master of Arts and a student of sacred theology, we desire, so far as we can, to give testimony to this truth, and by the tenor of this document to make known now and forever that the said Master James Laynez has studied in our faculty for a year and a half. In witness to this fact we order that the seal of our faculty of theology be placed upon this document. Given at Paris in our general meeting, solemnly held at St. Mathurin, in the year of our Lord, 1536, on the 14th day of October.<sup>11</sup>

In selling their effects during the last weeks before departure Laynez and Salmeron did not forget that they had frequently distributed alms at Alcala. They now gave some of the proceeds from this sale to the Hôtel Dieu at Paris, an institution that seems to have been a combination hospital and relief headquarters. From the people in charge there Laynez received a certificate acknowledging his contribution and granting him certain privileges should he ever fall into enormous sins. "He is permitted to select a special confessor," the certificate informs us, "who could absolve him from all his crimes, excesses, delicts, irregularities, and sins, no matter how grave and enormous, nor how they were committed, even those specially or generally reserved to the Apostolic See. . . . And because James Laynez, a devoted person

<sup>11</sup> *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 634 f. Alphonsus Salmeron, who had not completed his studies at Alcala, received the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Paris, October 3, 1536. Eleven days later, on October 14, he likewise received an official document testifying that he had studied at the University for a year and a half. Cf. *Epistolae Salmeronis*, I, 571 ff.



in Christ, has piously contributed of his goods he may rightly enjoy the above-mentioned privileges.”<sup>12</sup>

Besides personal testimonials of this kind other matters required attention before the companions could depart from the capital city of France. They could not, without more ado, simply leave a place where they had already gained a considerable reputation and numerous friends. The journey would be difficult, and Ignatius, who was now at Venice, sent a letter to Gabriel Guzman, the Spanish Dominican confessor to the Queen, asking assistance for them. Whether Guzman or the Queen did anything on their behalf is a debatable question. Some of the doctors at the University wished to keep them at Paris, arguing that they could do better work there than at Venice or in the Holy Land.

Without stopping to dispute this persuasive point, the nine men turned their effects into cash, reserved enough to buy food on the way, and donated the remainder to the poor. They had determined to leave on November 15, 1536, but probably left on different days to make their departure as inconspicuous as possible. Intent on avoiding any clash with chauvinistic French students, they divided into three groups, with a priest in each, and quietly began their long journey to Italy.

<sup>12</sup> This certificate is dated at Paris, October 27, 1536; similar ones were also given to Salmeron, Le Jay and Codure. Laynez' is merely cited in the *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 1, but a copy of it, with the name altered, is supplied in *Epistolae Salmeronis*, I, 573.

## CHAPTER II

### *Footloose in Europe*

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LAYNEZ and his fellow travelers on the road to Venice were not looking for trouble but they found more than they could have anticipated on their eight weeks' walk. They used caution in getting out of Paris and they continued to be careful not to arouse racial or religious prejudice among the people they met.

At a time when pilgrims were no novelty on the roads of Europe, and when one's own two feet were the principal means of getting from one place to another, the nine men did not make the sensation they would today. They were dressed in a kind of overall, or robe, cinctured at the waist, which poorer students wore at the universities. Like the others, Laynez bore on his back a sack of books and parchments. He swung a cane or staff of some kind. Around his neck hung a rosary with agate-sized beads and a six-inch crucifix, but even this detail did not cause comment except among the Protestants in Switzerland.

#### PERILOUS SITUATIONS

Laynez is very prosaic in his account of this trip, barely mentioning difficulties as though they were all in the day's work. "We went along the road," he says, "reading the Office and psalms, meditating on divine things according to the grace of God, or talking about interesting affairs. And thus, although we did not know the road and though we walked through rain all across France and through snow all across Germany, our Lord in His goodness helped us and kept us free from sickness. Even the Lutheran soldiers gave us directions and proved to be good company. I recall in particular that on the first day's jour-

ney we asked a man whether the others had passed this way. He answered pertly in French: 'They went to reform some country or other.' "

Simon Rodriguez was in the first trio to reach Meaux, the town later made famous as Bossuet's bishopric. He thought he had a tumor, and the next day he believed it had disappeared by divine intervention. At any rate they did not tarry here, for when the six others joined them the whole group decided to make the rest of the journey together.

It was impossible to tell in those days of slow communication what progress the war was making. At any time a traveler might find himself walking into the territory of either the French or the imperial troops. The men decided, therefore, to let strangers speak first; if they spoke in Spanish, Laynez or one of the Spaniards would answer, if in French, Favre or Codure would answer. All were to give the same answer: "We are students from Paris, going to the shrine of St. Nicholas." This reply was no subterfuge, for their immediate destination was Nancy, where the shrine was located.

One day, when the others were not at hand to help him with the language, Laynez met a French soldier. The French he had learned at Paris was the formal but correct speech of the University, whereas the soldier understood a jargon that only a native could know. Since they were unable to carry on a conversation, the Frenchman spluttered insults and dirty names at Laynez.

The town of Metz was filled with war refugees, and with rumors of approaching troops and imminent battles. After waiting three days in this city the travelers decided that the open road could hardly be as disagreeable as the overcrowded and fretful town. Hence they went on to Nancy, where they arrived at the end of November; they stopped only overnight, visited the shrine in the morning, and then went on into Germany.

In those anxious times of religious antagonisms, for a Catholic to cross the frontier was a perilous venture. A safe crossing was, in itself, a notable feat, but the nine companions did even more. They contrived, as Laynez remarks, to attend three Masses every day. Each of the priests, Favre, Le Jay, and Broet, celebrated Mass daily, and the others received Communion. All made a daily confession of their faults during the entire journey.



At a small town several days' journey from Metz, the city council summoned the nine men from Paris for an investigation. Since these were the domains of Emperor Charles V, Laynez, probably through an interpreter, gave the new password. They were now Spanish students from Paris making a pilgrimage to the Holy House of Loreto in Italy. As they proceeded deeper into strange territory, they aroused the curiosity of the Germans because they took no means to conceal their Catholicism, and because they were utterly ignorant of German.

#### DISPUTES WITH PROTESTANT PASTORS

Local Protestant pastors, thinking these men nothing more than simple uneducated pilgrims, welcomed a chance to debate religious topics and to exhibit their clever arguments against Rome. Laynez, a remarkably clever debater, drew them out in mock simplicity, and then cut through their arguments with the neatness of a rapier. He could be very provocative at times, and it seems that he delighted in reducing his Protestant opponents to a speechless rage. In later years, except for an occasional moment, he was a great deal more considerate of ignorance and stupidity. But at this time he had not yet learned that winning an argument over a person does not always convert him.

Rodriguez says that at Basle "they rested for three days, worn out from travel, weakened from the hazards of the road, and nearly exhausted by frost-bite, snow, and cold." This is quaintly put, for the "rest" consisted of a long-drawn argument with the local heretical doctors. On the way to Constance they had the shock of coming upon a priest's wedding party. At a little town just before coming to Constance, they were visited at their inn by the Protestant pastor of the place. Having come to provoke a disputation, he made the same mistake that the others did in overestimating his own talents.

The pastor was of a jovial disposition, the father of a numerous progeny, well satisfied with his lot in life, and willing to joke with these poor pilgrims before showing them how foolish their religion was. Laynez was physically worn out but could still argue down any heretic in the Latin language and for the defense of the Church. At first they got along so well together that the pastor invited them to dine with him, and even to come and look over his books, and his children, *libros et liberos*, both of which he had in quantity.

The invitation was taken almost as an insult. "Of course we will

not dine with you and your brood. Do you think we would eat with heretics or anyone separated from the Church?" The companions had to buy their own meal, but even this blunt refusal did not discourage the apostate priest. He came back after dinner and resumed the question of religion. He soon found that he was far beyond his intellectual depth in arguing with Laynez. Then Laynez took the offensive, fired question after question, syllogism after syllogism, until the man could no longer answer. "If you cannot reasonably defend your sect," asked Laynez at last, "why do you persist in clinging to it?" Provoked beyond the capability of a rational answer, the fallen priest shouted: "I'll teach you tomorrow when you are all in prison, whether or not I can defend my sect."

On the morrow the nine companions, knowing that caution is sometimes the better part of valor, left town before dawn and thus escaped fulfillment of the pastor's threat. Rodriguez gives the impression that a young man of angelic appearance delivered the companions out of the hands of their enemy and showed them a short cut that led them into Constance on the same day.

During the journey across Switzerland a further disputation occurred with the opponents of the Church. On this occasion the heretics produced a copy of Luther's expurgated Bible to prove their points. This edition of the Protestant Scripture had not long been on the market; the occasion was probably Laynez' first contact with it. He compared it with his own Vulgate edition and, so far as he could make out the German, noted the fact that in this new Bible all those portions that would prove embarrassing to the dissenters were omitted. As usual, he had no difficulty in proving his points, even to the extent of silencing his adversaries. But convincing a hardheaded person, and converting him, were two entirely different matters.

#### IN VENICE

At last they came down from the intense cold of Switzerland into the warmer and more Catholic portions of Italy, looking forward all the time to the meeting with Ignatius Loyola and their journey to the Holy Land. Their longing was satisfied on January 8, 1537, when they found Ignatius Loyola awaiting them at Venice. The ten men now settled down to await an opportunity for fulfilling their vow to

go to the Holy Land. Loyola had been working on three other men, Hoces and the de Eguia brothers, whom he would eventually win over. James de Eguia, whom Favre called *el santo don Diego*, later became the father confessor of Ignatius Loyola.

Layneze later pointed out that they had no permanent plans when they arrived at Venice. They wished to go to Jerusalem in a group; but they had no further scheme for group activity that even foreshadowed the formation of the religious order known as the Society of Jesus. "From the time we were in Paris until our coming to Venice," he wrote, "our main intention was not to form a congregation, but to live in poverty. We dedicated ourselves to the service of our Lord and to the welfare of our neighbor by preaching and by serving in the hospitals." They lived according to this intention, always hoping to obtain soon the Pope's permission to take ship to Palestine.

But it was wintertime in Venice and no galley would sail southward for several months. Rumor had it that even this sailing was doubtful because the Turks had tightened their control throughout the eastern Mediterranean. In the long run the scheduled pilgrimage would not take place at all; but the companions of Ignatius were too eagerly apostolic to sit there in idleness.

James and the others, including Ignatius, who were not yet ordained, used what spare time they could find for the study of theology. Evidently study was not their principal work during the months of waiting. Both Layneze and Rodriguez remark that they worked in the hospitals. Five of them lived and worked at the hospital of SS. John and Paul, four of them at the Hospital for the Incurables, while Loyola evidently lived separately. Frequently they exchanged visits between the two places, met for prayer and consultation, and for comparison of their methods of work.

From our own point in history there is no way of telling which hospital Layneze selected for his services. He helped with scrubbing floors and washing the putrescent bodies of the sick, with emptying buckets, with making and remaking beds. He carried out the corpses of the dead on his shoulders and dug graves for them with his own hands. The patients, unused to such courteous service, were surprised to find cultured young men doing work of this kind. Pious women who



occasionally came with their servants to leave food and clothing thought that the companions looked as haggard and weary as the patients.

Night and day and at all times the men were willing to do anything that could properly relieve the sick; and they did it with a smile. Rodriguez remarks that they performed these duties "with such readiness, eagerness, joy, and pleasantry that the patients greatly wondered." The news of their activities got around the city. Soon the officials who were charged with the improvement and maintenance of the hospitals came to survey their work, and "conceived a high opinion of their sanctity and learning." Most probably too, they saw efficiency and cleanliness in the hospital wards for the first time.

#### JOURNEY TO ROME

About two months were spent by James Laynez in this disease-infested atmosphere, and the marvel of it is that his own body did not break under the strain. In the beginning of March, Loyola sent him and the others to Rome to ask papal permission and a formal license to go on the pilgrimage. Two men whom Loyola feared, Ortiz and Caraffa, were at Rome, and he wanted to see neither of them. Ortiz, an unfriendly critic of the companions at Paris, had whispered against Ignatius in the ear of Inquisitor Lievin and had joined Govea in complaining against him. Now he was acting as the ambassador of Charles V in the matter of the divorce of Henry VIII from Catherine of Aragon. Caraffa's congregation of Theatines had been subjected to some slight criticism on the part of Loyola, and the latter had the mistaken notion that Caraffa, the future pope, disliked him.

Thus, during the week of March 10, 1537, the three priests and six students who had traveled from Paris to Venice took the road again, but this time for the Eternal City. Again they split into three groups, with a priest in each group. These groups went by the same road, and at night stopped at the same places. With no baggage except books, papers, and breviaries, they walked towards Ravenna for three days with scarcely anything to eat. They rested the entire Passion Sunday, March 18, to restore their physical powers; but in their hunger they were forced to eat the seeds of Italian pine trees.

As in their passage through France, so here in Italy they were ac-

accompanied almost all the way by a torrential rainfall. At one place they had to pawn their breviaries to raise enough money for a ferry toll. At Ancona Laynez stood in the town plaza humbly begging fruit and vegetables from the market women. On the whole, however, their begging was not very successful, as might be expected in a country subjected continually to the wear and tear of marching armies and extravagant princes. At the Holy House of Loreto they spent several days waiting for the rains to abate and satisfying their devotion to the Mother of God.

Since the rainy skies continued overhead there was no other course open to them except to trudge wearily on to Rome, which they reached on Palm Sunday, March 25. As he approached the central city of Christendom, Laynez felt himself more and more unworthy to enter this place made holy by the Apostles Peter and Paul and by innumerable other saints and martyrs. He knew as well as any of his contemporaries that Rome, like other large European cities, contained its share of corruption and vice. But he was devoutly conscious of the fact that Rome was the abode of Jesus Christ's vicar on earth, that it was the authoritative source of Christian wisdom, that in Rome lay the spiritual power to bring the whole world to the true worship of God.

#### AT ROME

With these thoughts in mind the erudite Spanish Jew humbly removed his shoes and walked barefoot into the Eternal City. He and Salmeron then took the others to the Spanish Hospice of St. James, where they received a cordial welcome and where they remained during all Holy Week. A certain rich Spaniard helped them with alms and supplied all the meager comfort they would allow themselves. Holy Week was a period of great spiritual enjoyment for them, for nowhere were the liturgical services of the Church performed with more precision and beauty than at Rome. Laynez and his friends attended the services at the stational churches with a devotion at once inspiring and characteristic.

In making the necessary contacts in the city, Laynez found that the letters of recommendation given them by Ignatius had an almost magical effect. Everywhere doors were opened with a promptness they had not anticipated. The biggest surprise of all was the attitude

of the Spanish ambassador, Doctor Ortiz, supposedly hostile to Loyola and his friends. Ortiz personally interviewed His Holiness, Paul III, and arranged an audience for them for Easter Tuesday. He especially commended Laynez, Salmeron, Favre, and Xavier for the theological and philosophical acumen they had displayed at the University of Paris. The Pope replied that he should like to put their intellectual abilities to a test.

Ortiz brought them all to the Pope's quarters on April 3, two days after Easter, and began a theological discussion. Several other theologians had been invited, among them the famous Franciscan, Cornelius Musso, the theologian of Cardinal Farnese. We do not know what theses were discussed, but we do know that they were argued with exceptional ability. Laynez and Salmeron had hardly completed their theological studies and were not yet ordained priests, but they more than held their own with the several doctors. It was this particular discussion that paved the way for their future appointment as papal theologians at the Council of Trent.

But the object of the visit was not to show off learning. It was good enough as a means of impressing their listeners, but Laynez wished to know whether or not they could get the immediate papal approval of their intended pilgrimage. Graciously His Holiness gave the permission, blessed their intentions, and at the same time doubted that they could soon get to Palestine. As Rodriguez remarked, he expressed this doubt either because he already knew that Venice was preparing an armada against the Turks or because he had a prophetic intuition of the course of events.

Paul III contributed thirty-three crowns to their expense account for the trip, and some of the other ecclesiastical dignitaries collected the total of 150 ducats for them. This money they promptly sent to Loyola at Venice, who later returned every coin of it when the pilgrimage became an impossibility.

#### PLANS FOR ORDINATION

In the back of Laynez' mind all this while was the anticipation of the priesthood. But, since he had more or less put his spiritual destiny in the hands of Ignatius Loyola, he was not personally and immediately concerned about the time or place for receiving the sacrament of



holy orders. At Rome neither he nor any of the others asked for permission to be ordained. This permission was spontaneously offered them by Paul III, who realized that they were already better trained and more learned than most of the priests of Christendom. There is no indication that the Roman authorities asked about the unexplained absence of Loyola, but the permission of ordination, given in the form of a choice, expressly included him.

At that time the permit for receiving holy orders always provided in some way that the priest should have the material means for his support. Thus the permission was granted under various "titles." According to Antonio Pucci Cardinal Santiquarto, who issued the official document, Laynez and the others could be ordained to the priesthood either *ad titulum voluntariae paupertatis*, or *ad titulum sufficientis litteraturae*, or under both titles. As Laynez explains it, this means that they did not come under the scope of two other possible titles of ordination, that of patrimony and that of benefice. The title "competency of knowledge" is no longer in existence. Its purpose was to indicate that the candidate for the priesthood was well able to support himself by teaching; and it referred to sacred rather than to profane learning.

When they talked this over with Loyola, they decided to choose both titles. The men had already vowed themselves to poverty, and the probability of teaching was always before brilliant men like Laynez, Salmeron, Favre, and Xavier. Episcopal faculties for hearing confessions were given to the three priests, Broet, Le Jay, and Favre; the others were allowed to be ordained on three successive feast days, or Sundays, by any bishop anywhere. Salmeron, who was only twenty-two, received a special dispensation for ordination as soon as he reached the age of twenty-three.

There is one further point to be noted regarding the negotiations at Rome: the fact that the permission for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land was issued in favor of Peter Favre and his twelve companions. Thus the group would contain thirteen in all, who would go to Palestine; it seems fairly certain that the three additional men were those whom Ignatius had befriended at Venice. Hoces was one of these. The second was Anthony Arias, and the third Michael Landivar, both of whom wished to associate themselves with the early companions,

but who soon broke with them and caused a great deal of trouble for them.<sup>1</sup>

The return to Venice was as delightful as the journey to Rome had been distressing. The begging went much better and the weather was perfect. It may have been at this time that Xavier had the nightmares which Laynez mentioned several years later. They were sharing the same room in some Italian inn, and Xavier would excitedly awaken his companion. "Jesus! How tired I am! Do you know what I dreamed? That I was carrying an Indian on my back, and he weighed so much that I couldn't hold him up." Many other times the great apostle talked about the Indies as though he had some divine premonition of his fate.

Hardly arrived at Venice, Laynez learned that the sailing of the pilgrim ship was canceled for that year. Consequently they would have to wait a whole year, until the spring of 1538, and no one could tell how long the Venetian-Turkish War would last. The Pope had conjectured correctly; and now the change in plans saw Laynez working among the poor and the sick until his ordination in June.

#### LAYNEZ' ORDINATION

At last, the long-awaited day of his ordination to the priesthood arrived, and we can but surmise the state of his soul on this occasion. Laynez would later write and preach a great deal about the priesthood and the sacrament of holy orders, but concerning his own elevation to the sacerdotal dignity he said nothing. The document, dated at Venice, June 27, 1537, simply tells the facts, giving no inkling of his emotional reactions.

Vincent Negusanti, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, bishop of Arba. We inform each and every one who reads these letters, that our beloved son in Christ, James Laynez, Master in the liberal arts, of the diocese of Siguenza, has humbly petitioned [ordination]. . . . We have found him worthy of promotion, and have promoted him on Sunday, June 10, to the clerical state and the four minor orders; on June 15, the feast of SS. Vitus and Modestus, a solemn feast day in the city of Venice, to the subdiaconate; on Sunday, June 17, to the diaconate; and on June 24, the feast of St. John the Baptist, to the priesthood; according to the rite of the holy

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Fabri monumenta*, pp. 1 f., where the editors of the work come to this conclusion regarding the identity of the three men.

Roman Church, solemnly and canonically celebrated within the Mass. We ourselves officiated in the domestic chapel of our residence in the city of Venice, finding him a capable and prepared subject under the titles of sufficient knowledge and voluntary poverty. . . . Into the hands of the cardinal legate, James Verallo, the said James Laynez vowed perpetual poverty, the usual solemn ceremonies being correctly observed. To the belief and testimony of all these facts we have ordered that these letters be drawn up and signed with our seal by the undersigned notary.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after these events took place Ignatius Loyola wrote to a friend at Barcelona: "We took all the orders, including the priesthood, and we voluntarily pronounced the vow of perpetual poverty before the legate of the Pope, who was here. . . . So far as the ordination is concerned, two bishops wished to ordain us. Neither at Rome nor at Venice did we have to pay any fees. The Legate also gave us full permission to preach, explain the Scriptures, and teach publicly and privately in all the Venetian territory, and to absolve from censures reserved to bishops, archbishops, and patriarchs."

Although the original group surrounding Ignatius Loyola had privately pronounced the vow of poverty at Montmartre in 1534, they had to repeat this vow in the presence of the Cardinal Legate to qualify for the title of voluntary poverty, under which they were ordained. Whether they had to submit to an examination to qualify also under the title of sufficient knowledge, is not known.<sup>3</sup>

#### APOSTOLIC LABORS

During the ensuing month Laynez remained at Venice, expressing his thanks to God by the performance of corporal and spiritual works of mercy. All the newly ordained priests showed themselves hesitant to celebrate their first Mass but evidently this hesitation was not owing to scrupulosity on their part. In his account, Laynez says that the Bishop would accept nothing for ordaining them, "not even a blessed candle, because he declared that in all his life he had never experi-

<sup>2</sup> *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 635 ff. This document contains also the papal permission for ordination granted to the following, who are named in this order: Bobadilla, Laynez, Xavier, Salmeron, Codure, Rodriguez, Landivar, and Loyola.

<sup>3</sup> Neither is it known whether Hoces was ever ordained even to minor orders. In his death notice, Polanco calls him simply Bachelor Hoces. Although Landivar was included under the official papal permission, there is no record of his ordination. Salmeron was not yet twenty-three years of age, and thus had still to wait until he could make use of his special privilege. Cf. *Scripta de S. Ignatio*, I, 543-46.



enced such satisfaction from an ordination." Laynez continues: "Our ceaseless activity on behalf of the poor was such that we could not prepare to say our first Masses. Therefore we left Venice, but stayed in towns near the bay because we still hoped that in the following year a ship would take us to Jerusalem."<sup>4</sup>

Finally the pilgrimage vanished from their dreams. Ignatius then wrote in a letter: "This year, in spite of our desire to go to Jerusalem, there has been no ship sailing for the Holy Land, and, because of the fleet which the Turks are preparing, there will not be any. Therefore we have decided to send back to Rome the 260 ducats . . . since we do not wish people to think we hunger and thirst for the things for which worldly people are now preparing to die. We are all leaving, two by two, to go through Italy until next year, when we will sail for Jerusalem if we can."

This period of traveling about the countryside they used to prepare for their first Masses. They felt that they would thus please God and put themselves in a better disposition of soul for the event. For forty days they would pray, meditate, and do penance, and at the same time minister to the people of the villages where many priests were performing a mere minimum of sacerdotal labor. Accordingly, on July 25, 1537, the companions broke up into five groups and went forth in different directions from Venice.

Layneze went with Favre and Loyola to Vicenza, where, as he reports, "besides preparing ourselves for our first Masses, we preached in the public square to very few listeners and sometimes with no audience at all. At least it was mortification, and there always seemed to be some result." The trio stayed at a dilapidated monastery, that of St. Peter in Vivarolo, which belonged to the Hieronymites of Fiesole.<sup>5</sup> The place was abandoned by everything but the elements, for, as Laynez described it, the rooms had a little straw but no doors or windows, and the roof was all but fallen in. Ignatius was sick for a while; and Laynez and Favre took turns in begging food. They were so successful that the local people soon began to provide more than was needed every day.

The others were having similar experiences: Xavier and Salmeron

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> About the name and location of this monastery there had been some confusion, which Tacchi-Venturi cleared up. Cf. *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù*, II, 96.

at Monteselice, Le Jay and Rodriguez at Bassano, Broet and Bobadilla at Verona, and Hoces and Codure at Treviso. They preached partly in broken Italian, but mostly in Latin; they recorded no startling conversions. But the primary purpose of going into the countryside was being achieved: they were preparing their souls for future work. Since the little groups were still separated from each other on August 15, they renewed at different places the vows that had been taken at Montemartre three years before.

About the first week in September Loyola summoned the others to come to him so that they could fill out the time of prayer and preparation together. But this plan was not realized. Xavier and Rodriguez, ill with the ague, were so seriously sick that they had to be removed to the Hospital of the Incurables at Vincenza.

The thread of the story about Laynez' first Mass is broken at this point. The date of the celebration is not known. Laynez says simply that the fathers said their Masses; Ignatius celebrated some time after the others. In the early autumn they were able to convene for consultations regarding the next step. They decided to offer their services to the Pope until they could make the pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Laynez, Loyola, and Favre would represent them all at Rome, asking the Holy Father to employ them in any way he wished. The others would do apostolic work among the university towns of northern Italy, where they might interest other priests and students in a more zealous and religious way of life. Carefully they planned the campaign of each one at Padua, Siena, Bologna, and Ferrara.

In the first days of November, 1537, all left Venice to travel the same road westward as far as they could. At a point where the road divided, one branch going to Rome, the other to upper Italy, there probably rose a final question that had been troubling their minds for sometime: "People will ask who we are. What shall we say?" Probably at this time they unanimously agreed with regard to the answer: "We will reply that we are the Companions of Jesus." \*

\* The belief that the companions thought of themselves as spiritual soldiers and wished to form their group after the model of a military company or battalion has no foundation.

## CHAPTER III

### *The Start to Fame*

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ON THAT bleak autumn day, just before they entered the city of Rome, the Spanish Jew, the crippled Basque, and the learned Savoyard stopped to rest at a little chapel on the ancient Roman roads of Claudia and Cassia. The chapel was called *La Storta*, a spot later venerated by Jesuits as the site of one of Loyola's most famous visions. Laynez and Favre, although physically present there, were not blessed with the same vision, but they obtained an account of it from Ignatius.

The saint could explain it no better afterward than to say that God the Father "ranged him with His Son." The First Person of the Trinity turned to Christ saying: "I want you to take this man for your servant." The Son, who was holding His cross, willingly agreed. Then the Father made that famous promise to the founder of the Society of Jesus: "I will be with you in Rome."<sup>1</sup> The words were pregnant with various meanings, and the three men, as they continued their walk into Rome could not determine whether the words meant martyrdom, suffering, success, or failure. But they did know that God would be with them in their work; and for a thorough-going Christian this promise is always enough.

Any premonition of immediate danger was dismissed by the genuine welcome they received in the city. The visit made during the previous Lent by Laynez and the others had left an extremely favor-

<sup>1</sup> The promise was not, as it is so often translated: "I will be propitious to you at Rome." Camara gives the significant words of this promise: *Io saro con voi*, which contain much more meaning, says Canisius, than the word *propitious*. *Scripta de S. Ignatio*, I, 715, *Censura Canisii in vitam Sti. Ignatii a Ribadeneira conscriptam*. Cf. Camara, p. 95; also Ribadeneira, pp. 148 f.



able impression. Doctor Ortiz again welcomed them joyously, showing no antipathy at all to Ignatius Loyola, and making arrangements to present them at once to His Holiness, Paul III.

#### PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY

The Pope was then seeking men who could help him put into effect the great reform plans that were under consideration. Recalling with pleasure the theological discussion of their former visit, he immediately appointed Laynez and Favre to teach theology at the Sapienza. This college, closed during the reign of Clement VII when the city was sacked in 1527, was reopened two years earlier, in 1535. Learned and dependable orthodox professors were sorely needed; the appointment of Laynez and Favre, almost unknown and only recently ordained priests, came as a distinct and honorable surprise.

It was not at first a smooth course for the two new professors. Favre lectured in positive theology, while the brilliant Laynez, lecturing in scholastic theology, seemed to have some difficulty in attuning his mighty intellect to the minds of the poorly trained young men in his classes. In 1556, just after Laynez became general of the Society, a letter which was sent from Rome to a young teacher, Julius Orsini, made the consoling admission of these early struggles. "Our Father Vicar says that the first time he lectured at the Sapienza in Rome he gave very little satisfaction either to himself or to others; so much so that our Father Ignatius was almost ashamed of him. But he soon improved and gave great satisfaction in everything."

It may be suggested that two factors hindered the young Spanish priest during the first days of his teaching at Rome. The one was his youthful appearance; he was only twenty-five, separated by a year or two from his students. The other was his clearly-marked semitic features, which were something of a novelty in a person holding a high position in the most important ecclesiastical college in the central city of Christendom. Laynez himself would have been too humble to admit these factors; he attributed his ill success to his own failure to teach properly.

On the platform itself he handled the text of Gabriel Biel on the Canon of the Mass, and it was over this subject matter, as Salmeron later suggested, that an intellectual readjustment was made between the professor and his audience. That this readjustment soon took

place is evident from the fact that the older professors occasionally came to sit in at Laynez' lectures; and they recognized the man's genuine abilities. Paul III, though overwhelmed with a multitude of duties, kept a sharp eye on his new appointees. A year later Ignatius wrote to a friend at Barcelona that "the Pope spoke publicly in our favor . . . for every two weeks according to his custom he admits us to his presence to talk about some subject during his meals."

As far as can be ascertained, Laynez carried on these courses in theology until the summer of 1539. Mentioning the fact in his own account, Laynez says that two of the men taught at the Sapienza, the one Sacred Scripture and the other theology, "in the order of their sanctity." Thus he suggested in his own way that Favre was holier than he, for Favre lectured on the inspired Word of God whereas he himself taught the science that was arranged by humanly inspired Scholasticism.

Meanwhile the others were having success in their work outside of Rome. At Ferrara, Le Jay and Rodriguez came to the notice of Victoria Colonna, the "most illustrious and religious" Marquise of Pescara, who would be so influential in the reform movement. She provided a small house for them near the hospital where they were serving, and recommended them to the Vicar General of the diocese and to the Duke of Ferrara, who asked Le Jay to be his confessor. At Siena, Broet and Salmeron were the guests of John de Lorenzo, "a good painter and a better Christian." Their preaching and example were declared by the Vicar General, Francis Cosci, to have greatly improved the faith and morals of the citizenry.

Codure and Hoces did not at first fare well at Padua. They were thrown into jail as suspicious characters by de Santis, who governed the diocese for Cardinal Pisano. They were soon released, however, and given faculties to preach and hear confessions. The work of Hoces brought on a fever, which could not be relieved by all the alleged medical art of the town. Codure said that his swarthy and homely face took on a beautiful charm after death, a sight that fascinated him as much as it did Loyola who saw it in a vision at Monte Cassino.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Laynez is mistaken in saying that Ignatius was then at Naples. He was at the Benedictine monastery giving the Spiritual Exercises to Doctor Ortiz. This event occurred around the Lent of 1538. Hoces is nowhere in tradition revered as a cofounder of

At Bologna, Xavier and Bobadilla taught children catechism, cared for the sick, and begged for the poor. As the others, they spoke Italian with a heavy foreign accent and in a stumbling manner, but the sanctity of Xavier was already a memorable thing to contemplate. He celebrated Mass with remarkable devotion at the tomb of St. Dominic in that city, and the populace remembered long afterwards that it had entertained a saint in its midst.

Ignatius Loyola busied himself at this time mainly in giving the Spiritual Exercises to some of the most important personages at Rome. Among them were Cardinal Gaspar Contarini, president of the commission that had just presented the Reform Memorial to the Pope; Lactanzio Tolomei, ambassador from Siena to the Holy See; Ignatius Lopez, one of the most learned Spanish doctors then in the Eternal City; Pedro Ortiz, the imperial ambassador.

Layne remarks that he and Favre "also gave the Spiritual Exercises to different persons. Many who were then studying or preaching successfully [at Rome] applied for admission to the group . . . and though they had begun their studies in other places, they were here proving themselves and making progress." This willingness, especially among students, to join in the work of the group shows that the Spanish Jew was having a powerful influence upon his audiences. He was the perfect model of an understanding teacher; and the combination of moral goodness and intellectual brilliance was an irresistible lure for his listeners.

Until the Easter of 1538 the two theology professors seem to have lived together in quarters provided by the papal household. Some time during the Lent of that year Ignatius had obtained a tiny house from Quirino Garzoni, a Roman nobleman and relative of Cardinal de Cupis. The house was situated in the midst of a small vineyard at the foot of *Trinità de' Monti*, on the slope of the Pincian Hill. Laynez and Favre moved in with Loyola shortly after Easter, and from then on the other scattered companions began to gather there to live more or less in common. Close at hand was the convent of the Minims, founded by St. Francis de Paul in 1453, where they were allowed to celebrate daily Mass.

the Society of Jesus, a clear indication that the men had not yet talked of forming a permanent religious order.



## PREACHING IN ROME

Layneze himself combines into one paragraph an account of the work that they did for several years after. Preaching was one of their main occupations; Loyola was the only one who spoke in Spanish, not yet daring to use his meager Italian in public. The others struggled along in the native tongue. Laynez said that for himself this preaching was, if nothing more, a form of mortification. Some people received more benefit from one preacher than from another. But there was one feature shared in common by all: the insistence on frequent confession and Communion, which were stressed so much that they "were now received at Rome more than previously."

Spring weather and the apparent slackening of hostilities on the sea turned their minds once more to the project of the pilgrimage. The thought was still uppermost in their plans, and any work they had done so far was not designed as a permanent program, but merely to fill the time of waiting before their departure. International events, however, were taking shape against these plans. The Holy League against the Turk was formed in Rome. On February 10, 1538, the compact was signed at the Vatican, including as partners, Paul III, Charles V, Ferdinand I, and the Republic of Venice. The agreement was framed so as to permit other states, even France, to join at any time. The assistance of England, however, was already out of the question.

The Pope's assault against the infidels could not be brought to success for several reasons. France and the Empire would not make peace. The able Andrea Doria, commander of the fleet, disgracefully and unaccountably retreated near the end of the summer. The Turks increased their own sea power. In November the League collapsed when the Venetians venally sued for a separate peace.

These affairs kept Laynez and the others at Rome, where they became involved in a kind of domestic warfare of their own. Their public activity, especially preaching, brought down upon them the wrath of certain individuals. Preaching in Rome was an unheard of thing except during Lent; but here were some foreign priests who dared to break traditions by giving sermons at all times and in all places. The storm of opposition lasted for more than eight months and was

aroused by an Augustinian, Mainardi de Saluces, who afterwards became an apostate.

## OPPOSITION IN ROME

Mainardi used two Spanish priests, Peter de Castilla and Francis Mudarra, as weapons in his attack. Laynez warned these two men of Mainardi's own heretical doctrines and quietly pointed out their divergence from the teaching of the Church. Two others joined in the attack, Michael Landivar, who had wished to join the companions at Venice, and Lawrence Garcia, who vacillated in his association with them. Rodriguez in his usual fluent style, remarks that "so grave and violent a sentiment arose against us that many were persuaded and said that we should be burned, or exiled to the ends of the earth, or sent to the galleys."

The charges made against Loyola, Laynez, and their companions were briefly these: they had previously been condemned by the Inquisition; they were escaped convicts; they broke all the rules of discipline and good order; they were purveyors of heresy; and lastly, they were forming a new religious congregation without the approval of the Holy Father. The Cardinal Legate and the Governor of Rome investigated the charges eventually and banished Landivar from Rome. Mudarra and Castilla testified that they "had been mistaken" in their statements. But Loyola insisted upon more definite vindication in the form of a public trial and a formal judgment.

Paul III, who was out of the city at the time, sent a messenger to Laynez and Favre, assuring them of his confidence in their work. Complete acquittal was handed down in a decision by the Roman Governor, Benedetto Conversini, on November 18, 1538. The official document mentions each of the ten men by name and declares that a thorough examination of all charges and all witnesses had been made. Not only was there not the least truth in the murmurs, obloquies, and rumors spread about these men, but the doctrines and morals of the group were of the highest type.<sup>3</sup>

With a sigh of relief the "reforming priests," as they were now

<sup>3</sup> A copy of this document is printed in the *Scripta de S. Ignatio*, I, 627-29. From then on it served as the answer to all attacks made against the companions either as individuals or as a group.

coming to be known—they were still a little hesitant about making public use of the title Society of Jesus—returned to their regular routine of charitable and apostolic labors. These labors demanded a larger base of operations, nearer the center of the city. The men moved once to slightly larger quarters, then again to a roomy building near the Melangolo Tower, which Anthony Frangipani rented to them. Toward the end of 1538 this house became a genuine center of social work, for the winter that had just settled upon them was one of the severest in the history of Rome.

Layneze modestly passes over his part in this work by saying that “at the time of the famine they [daily] fed four hundred poor people.” But the other men, who left written memoirs of those years, had good reason to remember that particular winter. Men and women fell on the open streets, exhausted from hunger, and would have frozen as well as starved to death had not some kind of assistance arrived.

That help came in the persons of Laynez, Loyola, and the others, who used their spare daylight hours in going through the streets, begging for bread, clothing, and bedstraw for the unfortunates. Toward dusk they found hungry, homeless people, and, half carrying them, brought them to the Frangipani dwelling. On some nights from two to four hundred persons were huddled in the poorly heated building, receiving material assistance that seemed as eloquent as the simple, religious instructions which the companions gave. Their example spread rapidly. Cardinals and city officials gave money and materials to them and to the other hospices of Rome.<sup>4</sup> A certain Peter Codacio supplied the personal wants of the companions, later gave them his church, Our Lady of the Wayside, and still later became a member of the Society of Jesus.

#### PROJECT OF ORGANIZATION

All these group activities, together with the realization that Jerusalem could not be reached, contributed to the mounting opinion that the companions should organize. Their loose association could in no way be called a religious congregation, for they had specifically

<sup>4</sup> Through his teaching connections Laynez was in a good position to reach official and influential Rome. Polanco says that by their initiative and their petitions they persuaded the leading citizens so that three thousand persons were being fed and sheltered. Cf. *Chronicon*, I, 78.



denied a charge to that effect in the Mainardi case. The time had now come to forget Palestine and to offer themselves unreservedly to His Holiness, the Vicar of Christ. The question was whether they should do so as individuals or as a society.

According to Bobadilla, it was the Pope himself who put the idea into their heads of forming the Society of Jesus. Laynez and Favre had been discussing theology with Paul III one day at dinner; afterward the discussion turned to the religious and social activities then going on in the city. "Why do you still wish to go to Jerusalem?" he asked them. "Italy itself can be a real Jerusalem for you if you wish to do good work in the Church of God." When the two theologians reported these words at home, continues Bobadilla, "they all thought of instituting a religious order, for until that time they had it in their hearts to fulfill the vow of the Jerusalem pilgrimage."

No better time could be found for so important a task. It was the Lent of 1539; and during these forty days of fast and abstinence the groundwork was laid for the Society of Jesus. As Laynez later related, "We gave ourselves to prayer and afterward came together and weighed the circumstances of our vocation point by point. Each one set forth as it seemed to him the pros and cons of the matter. In the first place, we were in agreement that we should found a society having a permanent existence and not one limited to the term of our natural lives."

In the Rome of 1539 the formation of a new religious congregation was not a thing to be hurried, nor did the companions take the Pope's suggestion that they remain in Europe as a mere idle papal whim. The procedure planned upon for that Lent was pervadingly prayerful and almost painfully slow. First of all they made a general confession of their whole lives, and then remained in silence and privacy for fifteen days. At the end of that period they agreed unanimously to form a permanent organization, wrote a statement to that effect, signed it, and sent it to Paul III.

But the preliminary formula for a religious way of living took them many weeks to arrange. The problem of the vow of obedience, its limitations and its binding force, was the most important of the topics under discussion. They knew they should vow obedience to the Holy Father, but they were not so sure that they should bind themselves to follow the commands of one of their own members. There were

other things, commonly associated with the religious life, which they did not hesitate to reject, such as choir singing, special religious habit, promise of stability.

Calmly and leisurely the companions deliberated, discussed, debated the various questions, until May 3, 1539, when they set down the points upon which all agreed. Fifty years later the aged Bobadilla could recall this day in a letter to the Jesuit general at the time, Claude Aquaviva. "Divine providence," he wrote, "changed the vows of the pilgrimage into better and more fruitful ones." And it did this by substituting the well-ordered religious life for the wandering life of a pilgrim. It was the metamorphosis of a group of spiritual vagabonds into a well-knit unit of purposive papal servants.

Layneze and Favre were present for the final conferences, which took place during May and June. On June 24, 1539, the second anniversary of their ordinations, the companions then at Rome finished the plan according to which the future Constitutions of the Society of Jesus would be written. Ignatius Loyola himself wrote it in his own handwriting. Nothing essential was lacking to this first draft, even to the name, upon which they had previously decided, but which they now converted into the Latin equivalent, *Societas Jesu*.

Even while the discussions were drawing to a close, important personages were clamoring for the "reform priests" to come to various places. Again they broke up to work in different parts of Europe, with Xavier going to India, while Loyola stayed at Rome to fight off opposition until the Society was confirmed in September, 1540. Astrain remarks that all these Jesuits brought great credit upon the Society in the eyes of the princes and peoples of Europe; "and there is no disputing the fact that the most illustrious of these workers was Father James Laynez."

#### AT PARMA

Henry Philonard, the cardinal of Sanangelo, recently appointed papal legate to Parma, made repeated requests of the Pope for the services of the two theology professors, Laynez and Favre. His requests were granted when Paul III ordered them to give up their posts at the Sapienza and to go to Parma, where they arrived in July. In a letter written to James' father on September 25, 1539, Salmeron explains that the Cardinal's main purpose in getting Laynez to Parma

"was to preach and debate with certain heretics and Lutherans."<sup>5</sup> Everybody who mentions the fact remarks that his work was an immediate success.

The wise Spaniard did not rush headlong into the new work, challenging every heretic in sight. First he had to establish himself among the *graviores et eruditiores* at Parma; and this he did by giving a number of lectures on the Sacred Scriptures to the priests and learned men of the town. This brought a certain amount of publicity to both Laynez and Favre, of which they made use for attracting larger audiences. In the churches and public squares they began to give well-advertised moral sermons, composed and delivered in a simple style that would affect all kinds of people. The practical lesson of their preaching was always this: confess your sins and receive Holy Communion frequently.

The Spanish Jew became an evangelical whirlwind. He was a prodigy, a novelty to the people who had never seen anything like this before. He himself told Ignatius that the frequentation of the sacrament of penance became a civic wonder; so much so that people went to confession once a month, and in the five churches of the city confessions were heard on every feast day. He was much in demand as a confessor, and people would stand and wait hours to reach him.

At first he carefully picked out certain well-disposed persons, even women, to whom he gave the Spiritual Exercises. After a while both he and Favre were so overwhelmed with requests that they began to give these Exercises to a hundred at a time. This seems to have been the first mass application of St. Ignatius' retreat method, and it worked with singular success. Of course, the individual attention to the retreatant, which Ignatius had always insisted upon, was impossible in dealing with large crowds; but the people were starved for spirituality, and the two Jesuits were delighted with the way their innovation was accepted.

All this time Laynez was on the watch for likely young men who would make good members of the new Society of Jesus. The best discovery he made at Parma was Jerome Domenech, already ordained and a canon from Valencia, Spain, who was then passing through the

<sup>5</sup> In this letter to his old friend John Laynez, Salmeron, who was then at Rome, said that they received weekly letters from Favre and Laynez. Unfortunately these letters are no longer available. Cf. *Epistolae et instructiones*, I, 153-55. Polanco, *op. cit.*, I, 82, states that the two Jesuits traveled to Parma in the company of the Cardinal.



city with a party of friends on the way to Paris for higher studies. Laynez' energy and drive fascinated him into staying over a few days, then making the Exercises, and finally joining the new congregation. Paul Achilles, also a priest, was the next addition. Then followed Elpidius Ugoletti, Sylvester Landini, John Baptist Viola, Anthony Criminali, Benedict and Francis Palmio, and Angelo Paradisi.

The two Jesuits expanded their activities into ten or twelve of the neighboring villages, either going themselves to teach Christian truths to the children and preach to the elders, or sending some of their new priestly helpers. Usually they went in pairs, in the modern missionary style, so that they could relieve each other in giving instructions, and could hear as many confessions as possible.

Again Laynez innovated an activity that was not strictly Jesuit in character; but there seemed to be no one else present able to do it. He gave religious instructions to a convent of Benedictine nuns, the richest in the territory; insisting always—wise man that he was—that the convent chaplain should be present at the talks. In telling Ignatius about it later, he was almost naïve in his amazement at the conversion which took place in the convent. The nuns resolved to keep the rule of cloister, to dispense with their rich personal belongings, to give their treasures to the poor and sick, and in general to become the obedient and religious women they were supposed to be.<sup>6</sup>

Just before Pentecost of that year, 1540, Laynez accompanied as far as Piacenza some of the young men he was sending to Rome to make a novitiate at Jesuit headquarters there. In that town he wished to preach, but decided against doing so because of the processions then taking place in honor of the feast. Feeling the need for spiritual work, he went out to a little military town, preached there three times, and heard confessions all the rest of the day and night. He records that two of his penitents were a man and a woman who had been living together for seven years without benefit of matrimony. Two other priests, who had made the Exercises, went out to small villages during these feast days, and heard more than two hundred confessions. The Laynez influence was quickly spreading.

Four more convents were converted, either by Laynez or by his assistants, and the Bishop desired him to give instructions in all the

<sup>6</sup> The letter in which Laynez explains these things to Loyola is dated from Parma, June 2, 1540. He does not supply the precise dates on which the events related took place.

monasteries of the diocese: an impossible task. In mentioning the difficulties confronting him, Laynez almost throws up his hands with the remark: *Nuestro Señor nos ayude!* Then Favre became ill and tossed in a fever for more than six weeks. His fellow Jesuit obtained for him the best doctors and the best service in town, and willingly spent his own valuable time in doing the ordinary chores of nursing. Cardinal Philonard, unlike many another high churchman of his time, stayed close to the problems of his diocese, was at hand with the Jesuits most of the time, and paid all expenses for them, whether they were sick or well.

#### AT PIACENZA

At the Cardinal's suggestion, Favre, upon his recovery, took over entirely the work at Parma. Laynez was sent southward to Piacenza on July 16, 1540, where he immediately attempted to institute the same reform program that had succeeded so admirably at Parma. He was growing in stature, had gained prominence and improved methods by experience, and could now use the Italian language with convincing ease. His report to Ignatius, in the middle of September, was written in Italian; and from that time forward he wrote and spoke with ease in Spanish, Latin, Italian, and French. The work at Piacenza was to engage him until the end of that year.

The inhabitants of the town did not respond so quickly or so thoroughly to the spiritual ministrations of the Jesuit as Parma had done. Measured by ordinary standards, he was more than normally successful, but he was dissatisfied with himself, probably because he was expecting miracles of conversion. He reports that he gave instructions and sermons on every Sunday and feast day. Three times weekly he explained St. Matthew's Gospel. As Polanco later chronicled it: *Pater Laynez Christo lucrificet.* He made profit for Christ, gave the Spiritual Exercises to many prominent men, both ecclesiastical and lay, heard numerous general confessions, and enlisted a few more recruits for the Society of Jesus.

In November, Laynez reported to Rome that his audiences were growing all the time, especially since he had moved from the cold, barnlike structure of his previous activities to a monastery of the Servites. At the beginning of Advent he wrote again about even greater numbers attending his talks on St. Matthew's Gospel, the

popularity of which was immense. More than four hundred persons crowded themselves into the lecture hall of the monastery.

Part of the secret of the popularity of Laynez, as well as of the other early companions of Ignatius, must be attributed to the fact that they practiced what they preached. When James told the people that they should not spend all their time in accumulating wealth, he could stand before them as an example. When he told them that spiritual activity was higher than secular activity, they could observe that also in the things he did every day. As he himself says, the days were so short and his occupations kept him so busy that he could not even find time to eat his meals until after nightfall. He was almost scrupulous in the way he handled alms. At Piacenza, unless money or a piece of clothing was expressly given to him for his own use, he would pass it on to the poor.

When planning the new religious institution at Rome, the first Jesuits made it a rule that they would never accept anything more than was absolutely necessary. But Laynez interpreted this ruling too rigorously, for, as Polanco remarked, both he and Favre were suffering even the lack of necessary things. Toward the end of 1540 Loyola instructed them that they were to consider themselves among the poor, for whom alms were given, and they were to take the necessities of life from these funds.

The Society of Jesus was now growing apace, and Ignatius needed Laynez at Rome to help him work out some of the domestic affairs. On the feast of the Holy Innocents the word had spread in Piacenza that the preacher was to give his farewell sermon. Crowds came to listen, and strong men wept unashamed at his departure. They tried persuasion and even sent a messenger to the Pope, but the missionary knew his duty.

Taking two prospective Jesuits up to Parma, where he left them, Laynez returned to Rome to be with his superior in the beginning of January, 1541.



## CHAPTER IV

### *Spiritual Whirlwind*

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THE fame of Ignatius Loyola has been so great that it has tended to overshadow the mighty men who surrounded him. This is less true of Francis Xavier, whose exploits were entirely different from those of Loyola, and who gained his reputation in a distant part of the world. But it is only too true of James Laynez, who was the first to suggest the educational possibilities of the new organization, and whom Ignatius himself considered his most valuable confrere. Loyola once remarked that he owed more to this fellow Spaniard than to any other member of the Society of Jesus.

This expression of Loyola's debt to Laynez has been used by several Protestant historians to demonstrate that the latter was the true founder and organizer of the Society. Ignatius has been highly over-rated, they say. Much of his spirituality was merely a paraphrase of Moslem thought, especially his teaching about obedience, and his ideas for a religious order were completely ineffectual until Laynez took hold and revised the original constitution. These theories have been disproved too often to warrant further comment.<sup>1</sup>

Ignatius recognized Laynez' sound judgment in practical affairs.

<sup>1</sup> Moslem domination in Spain lasted so long that it most certainly influenced the culture of that country, but religious leaders like John of the Cross, Theresa of Avila, and Ignatius Loyola remained orthodox in spite of it. The theory of Islamic influence on Ignatius, as well as the contention that Laynez really founded the Society of Jesus, was revived by Herman Müller in his book *Les origines de la Compagnie de Jésus*, published at Paris in 1898. Cf. also Father Thurston's review of the book in the *Month*, XCIV, 518-26; and Pastor, *op. cit.*, XIII, 182 f. The Constitutions were finally drawn up by Ignatius in 1552 and introduced during the next few years. This fact is amply clear from decrees 15, 53, 78, of the first general congregation, in 1558, at which Laynez was elected general.

He called him to Rome and kept him there until the middle of the following year. Their main occupation was to get the new order started properly. Since the papal Bull of approval had been granted in the previous September, Ignatius had been working on the Constitutions and Rules. Codure was with him at Rome; but the two men knew that the sound wisdom and good sense of Laynez would greatly lighten the task. Unfortunately, however, there is no record of the consultations held by these three men during January and February of 1541.

Astrain conjectures that sermons and lectures on Sacred Scripture also occupied Laynez at Rome at this time. That is only a probability; but it is certain that he spent some of his time at Regium Lepidi, where he directed the spiritual life of the monastery of St. Thomas. Cardinal Marcellus Cervini, who later became Pope Marcellus II, sent him a note of glowing thanks for this work in February 1541.

#### ELECTION OF A GENERAL

With the preliminary difficulties settled, the first founders went ahead with the election of their general. There were at hand more than a dozen new members, but these were to have no voice in the election. Of the original ten companions, Favre had been sent to Germany by Paul III; Bobadilla was unavoidably detained in southern Italy; Xavier and Rodriguez were already in Portugal, awaiting passage to the Indies; Laynez, Salmeron, Codure, Broet, Le Jay, and Loyola were the only ones present when the election took place in April, 1541.

Everyone except Loyola agreed that he should be the first general of the Society of Jesus. Ignatius did not make a choice; he was content to cast a vote for the one upon whom the others would agree. Those who were absent, with the exception of Bobadilla, had left their choice in writing, under seal and in the care of Laynez. When the votes were counted it was found that all were in favor of Ignatius Loyola, and that four had made a second choice for Peter Favre. This incident concerning Favre would be recalled in after years at the election of James Laynez as second general of the Society.

LayneZ was not one of the four who selected Peter Favre as a possible candidate for the office of Jesuit general. To his mind there was only one man in the group, Ignatius Loyola, who had the necessary

genius and sanctity for that high position. His decision does not reflect upon the character or abilities of any of the other early companions, nor does it imply that he had an exaggerated opinion of Loyola's intellectual prowess. In writing of Loyola's student days at Paris, Laynez remarked that "although he had more difficulty in study than the others, nevertheless he was so diligent that he made as much progress, *ceteris paribus*, as his companions, attaining to an honest average of knowledge, as is witnessed by his public disputations and discussions with fellow students during his college days." <sup>2</sup>

The words *ceteris paribus* readily refer to the fact of Ignatius' late entrance into the world of schoolbooks, and to his penchant for activity rather than for scholarly pursuits. Laynez knew well the personal holiness of Loyola. He knew also that, as an organizer and administrator, Loyola's equal could not be found among the first members of the Society of Jesus. Therefore he tersely wrote his vote as follows: "I, James Laynez, prompted only by my zeal for the glory of the Lord Jesus and for the salvation of my own soul, choose Ignatius de Loyola as my superior and as the superior of the Society of Jesus. In testimony of this fact I subscribe my name here on the fourth day of April, 1541." <sup>3</sup>

Loyola at first refused the position of head of the new congregation, and it required all of Laynez' persuasive art to make him reconsider the decision. Ignatius finally consented to another balloting, but asked that they pray seriously for several days before again submitting their votes. Of course, the result was the same, but he still demurred. At last, upon the advice of his confessor, he accepted the position, asking his companions to accompany him on a visit to the seven stational churches in Rome on the Friday after Easter. Accordingly, on April 22, 1541, they made these devotional visits, ending at St. Paul's, where Ignatius celebrated Mass, pronouncing a vow of special obedience to the supreme pontiff. The others likewise made their profession in the formula which has since become known as the "last vows" of the Jesuits.

About two months later, on June 24, Jean Codure died. Seriously ill for almost a year, he had been unable to undertake his appointed

<sup>2</sup> *Scripta de S. Ignatio*, I, 138 f. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 394.

<sup>3</sup> *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 638. Most of the others wrote out their votes, giving comments and explanations of their choice.



task as papal legate to Ireland. His illness and death made it all the more important for Laynez to remain with Ignatius. Codure's assistance in setting the Society in motion and in helping to prepare the Constitutions was considered of great value by both Laynez and Loyola, but it is doubtful that even his presence could have brought about an earlier promulgation of the Constitutions.

As things stood, even the impetuous Laynez could not hurry Ignatius in finishing this "charter" of the new Society. James was always a man for quick production; he got things done in a hurry; but in this case he was dealing with a saint who prayed and meditated over almost every word. It would be more than ten years before the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus were promulgated.

#### MARK LAYNEZ

During this same year, 1541, Mark Laynez came to Rome to see his brother, remained to join the Society, and died there. Early biographers of James Laynez state that this younger brother represented his family in a kind of tour of investigation, worrying about the rumor that James was associated with a group of heretics. At best this story is a romantic imagining. Mark was considerably younger than James and could hardly have been capable of judging the theological orthodoxy of his brilliant brother. His family at Almazan was in close contact with the Salmeron family at the same place, received news both directly and indirectly from Alphonsus, had become personally acquainted with Ignatius Loyola in 1536. None of the contemporary letters or writings mentions this supposed heresy-hunting on the part of Mark. The whole episode can be put down as pure fiction.

Besides Mark, whose death apparently left James quite undisturbed, several other men were brought to the Society by Laynez at this time. Three of them were to become historically prominent members of the Order: John Polanco, diarist and long-time secretary of the Society under Loyola, Laynez, and Borgia; Andrew des Freux, who had a short but brilliant preaching career; and Francis de la Torre. Others he picked up in various cities during the ensuing years.

If Laynez was valuable to Ignatius as a man of ideas in the formation of the Society, he was no less valuable as a man for contacts with the world outside that Society. Polanco remarks that during that

summer he was occupied in hearing confessions and giving sermons, and among the many who took advantage of his spiritual services was Margaret of Austria. She was Duchess of Parma, the daughter of Emperor Charles, and the greatest single secular benefactor of the early Society. She and all her household employed Laynez as confessor and spiritual adviser.

#### AT VENICE

In the summer of 1542 Laynez went with the ducal household to Lucca, and continued there in his usual round of work until an order of the Pope sent him off to Venice.<sup>4</sup> Peter Lando, the duke of Venice, was greatly worried about the heretics who were drifting down to his city from the Germanies. He knew Laynez by reputation and succeeded in persuading Paul III to command Laynez' acceptance of the defense of the faith in the city of canals. The Jesuit's obedience was immediate; and for the next three years he made his headquarters at Venice.

On the feast of St. James, July 25, 1542, Laynez began a series of lectures on St. John's Gospel in the church of the Savior at Venice. About four hundred people attended, a number that gradually increased at the following talks, which he gave three times a week. He passed what is probably the severest test for any orator: to hold the spiritual attention of large numbers of the so-called upper classes. These Venetian nobles formed a good part of the audience, which at times went well over the thousand mark. They were so impressed with Laynez that about sixty of them requested him to give the lectures at a time that would not conflict with their council meetings. These were held on the afternoons of feast days. The priest gladly acceded to this request.

There was another request, however, to which he would not comply without the express authorization of Ignatius. They wished him to give up his room at the hospital of SS. John and Paul and move to more commodious quarters. The humble priest refused the offer of the papal legate, Archbishop John della Casa, and of Andrew Lipomani, to provide a better lodging for him. In answer to Laynez' question, Ignatius wrote at the end of August that it would be best to

<sup>4</sup> When it became apparent that Laynez' absence from Rome would be indefinitely lengthened, Margaret of Austria made Ignatius Loyola her confessor.

move in with the wealthy Lippomani, especially since Cardinal Cervini also desired him to make the change.

This change of residence is, on the face of it, a trivial matter, but it demonstrates the thoroughness with which Laynez wished to follow the regulations of the Society. Knowing well the occasions of spiritual trouble and the contemporary sources of ecclesiastical scandal, he was slow to take any step toward bodily comfort and welfare unless he had the full approval of his superior. The theory of Jesuit initiative within well-defined bounds was to be worked out more completely in the later life and works of Laynez, but at the very beginning he thought rigidity better than elasticity. This conviction cost the impetuous Laynez a great deal, but it contributed also to his moral perfection.

Following a clear-cut pattern, Laynez proceeded to other tasks before attacking the problem of heresy. He made himself a kind of almoner for the poor, especially in the hospitals, where his own reputation and that of his companions still lingered from their previous visit. Through his connections with the nobles and rich clergy he could obtain more than sufficient money and supplies to keep him occupied in this work. The sermons and popular lectures continued until the end of the year. Then he thought he could strike directly at the heretics.

The outward sign of success in controversy is found in the number of persons who are won over. In January, 1543, Laynez could report to Rome that more than forty men, either thoroughgoing heretics or men tainted with heresy, had made their profession of the true faith as a result of his controversial activities. He remarks also that Lutheran pamphlets and books, which were being poured across the border into Italy, were burned by these converts. No one tabulated either the books destroyed or the souls recovered by Laynez during his stay at Venice, but the number of both was certainly high.

Lippomani, who held several benefices, was in a position to show his gratitude for the work Laynez was performing. He insisted on supplying all the material wants of the young Jesuits then studying at the University of Padua. In the previous autumn, Laynez had made a flying visit to that city to establish Polanco and Des Freux in their student quarters. He so arranged things and issued certain regulations that many commentators have considered this the first college of



the Society of Jesus. It was, in fact, little more than a practical idea for the future.

Lippomani generously provided the funds, and Laynez stayed for a while to instruct the young men on their future conduct as students. When the people of Padua learned that he was in the city, they demanded his services, and Laynez, who never let slip an opportunity, complied by giving several conferences and lectures. All of this occurred in November, 1542, and required only a little of his time.

In his *Chronicon*, Polanco remarks: "The fourth house of the Society was started at the University of Padua in April, 1542. We began to have a fixed residence there (although in the first year it was in a rented house), because Father Ignatius had sent Andrew des Freux and me there to continue our studies. . . . Jerome Otell and Stephen Baroell also joined us." Laynez soon asked that four or five more men be sent from Rome to Padua, where Lippomani would see to it that they could prosecute their studies quietly and comfortably.

The pressure of the public apostolate became even greater on Laynez; for frequently enough he would preach twice in one day, and in some weeks would spend as many as five or six days in the various monasteries and convents around Venice. For a man who had made his religious profession only a year previously, this popularity as a spiritual director was remarkable. It suffers, of course, in comparison with that of St. Ignatius, who directed priests and religious for many years, even while he was a layman.

At the end of March, 1543, Laynez received from Rome a copy of the Constitutions, and a covering letter from Ignatius. The letter ordered him to do two things: first, to arrange for the forty-day period in which he was to teach catechism to young boys, a service which all the companions had vowed to undertake. The other order was to the effect that James should observe carefully the provisions of the Constitutions about clothing and shoes. Perhaps the General feared that he was going about Venice in a condition too ragged and shabby. At any rate, the instruction is there, and the subject undoubtedly obeyed his superior.

#### REFORMING THE CLERGY

During the summer of that year he went to Padua and its environs at the behest of Cardinal Pisano, and there worked especially for the

edification of the secular clergy. These priests were in most immediate contact with the people, and Laynez felt that they would have to bear the brunt of the Lutheran assault. He visited the parishes one by one, as the semi-official representative of the Bishop, and discovered among the priests an astonishing lack of comprehension of their duties. Both here and at Brescia, where he went the following winter, he tried to show the clergy various ways of keeping the Catholic population in the true faith. At one place more than a thousand citizens declared themselves ready to shed their blood in defense of the dogmas of the Church. He held public debates to convict heretics of their error, and the converts almost invariably threw their suspect books into the bonfire.

To the parochial leaders Laynez could not supply intelligence and learning, but he could point out their duties to them, especially in regard to administering the sacraments. So remiss were they in general that Laynez thought it worthy of note when he found exceptions. He had arrived at Brescia on February 18, 1544. Three months later he told Ignatius that some of the priests obeyed the Bishop and heard confessions free of charge. In other letters he remarks that, as a result of his own persuasion, certain priests were now spending time in the work of the confessional.

The mere fact that Laynez thought it important to point out these things indicates the general laxity among the lower clergy of the sixteenth century. The "reformed priests" under the guidance of Ignatius Loyola made it one of their chief aims to preach frequentation of the sacraments. If a fee were charged for confession, the poor simply could not receive the sacrament, and consequently were prevented also from receiving Holy Communion. Fighting for purity of doctrine was fine work, and Laynez did more than his share of it, but the people needed a protection for their morals, and this was to be obtained mostly in the grace of the sacraments.

The experiences Laynez had in northern Italy during these few years before the Council of Trent are too numerous and varied to recount here. Typical of them is the story of the Italian who had sworn to stab an enemy and was on his way to do it when Laynez caught up with him and exacted a promise that he would change his mind and go to confession instead. At another time in Brescia four

young nobles came to Laynez' quarters, promising to demonstrate very easily that purgatory could not exist. Of course, they were putty in the priest's hands, and they left him fully and finally convinced of the truth of the Catholic dogma. Two learned ecclesiastics gave up their heretical leanings after a discussion with him. Laymen went to confession to him after being away from this sacrament for ten or fifteen years. Under his inspiration, groups of priests decided to meet weekly for common prayer and discussion. Monasteries kept copies of his instructions for future reference and spiritual reading.<sup>5</sup>

## AGAIN AT PADUA

The Vicar-general of the diocese desired to keep James at Brescia, where he had preached a course of sermons in Lent of 1544 from the cathedral pulpit, and where in a few short months he practically revolutionized the morals of the people and clergy. But Loyola ordered otherwise, and Laynez recognized only one authority in these matters. On the road from Brescia to Padua he was stopped at a small town by an archpriest who called in the whole countryside to listen to the renowned preacher. He summoned the local clergy also for several days of spiritual conferences which Laynez consented to give.

At Verona, another town along the way, he stopped long enough for consultations at the monastery and gave good advice on religious vocations. At Vicenza, where he was still remembered from his earlier visit, he renewed old acquaintances, repeating often and again his favorite theme: the reception of the sacraments. At Venice he heard the confessions of many old friends and some new ones, settled a dispute among the directors of the principal hospital, and preached to a group of converted women. Finally at Padua he found his "brothers in the Lord sound in body and soul, and traveling along the road of charity and wisdom."

The physical strain of such labors had been too much for Laynez, and he was forced at last to give his body a few weeks' rest toward the autumn of 1544. His indomitable spirit was willing to continue at the same fast pace and begrudged even this short, well-earned rest.

<sup>5</sup> These things are told by Polanco in a kind of running commentary in the *Chronicon*, I, 129-31, and are also contained in Laynez' letters to Ignatius from Brescia and Padua in 1544.



But the man was wise enough to realize that a complete breakdown might end forever his active apostolate, and there was nothing he desired more than a full lifetime of activity.

There is a hiatus in the history of Laynez from the time of his recuperation until the spring of 1545. We may reasonably surmise that he had become so accustomed to preaching, teaching, and making converts that he found nothing worthy of remark in his daily grind of fifteen to twenty hours' labor. He was the local superior of the young Jesuits at the University of Padua that winter, and this duty must have required some of his attention. He was never niggardly in giving time and help to his brothers in religion.

Lent of 1545 found him laboring hard at Bassano. This town was under the control of Venice and was a particularly active center of Lutheran propaganda which came across the border from Germany. The usual success attended his preaching here. Polanco says: "He strenuously defended the cause of religion not only while he was present there; but even after he left, the people remembered the words of his sermons, and could stop the mouths of the heretics." Fighting heretics from a distance in this way was no mean achievement.

#### RECALLED TO ROME

At the beginning of May, Ignatius recalled Laynez to Rome, where the young Society had already made a tremendous reputation. There were more than thirty "reformed priests" now working under Loyola's direction in the Eternal City and doing so with such intensity that there was no time for idleness. One of their projects was the conversion of Jews, many of whom had to be supported after baptism because their families cut them off penniless. Another was the House of St. Martha, a refuge for over forty reformed prostitutes, who likewise had to be provided with food and clothing. A pious congregation of lay people had been formed to look after the protection and needs of these girls.

Ignatius was having his trouble with Elizabeth Roser and other pious women who had obtained from the Pope an order appointing him their spiritual director. These women hoped to form a feminine counterpart of the Society of Jesus and to live in obedience to the Jesuit general. Probably Laynez, when he found this state of affairs

at Rome, was as eager as Loyola to rid the Society of this incubus. Ignatius himself remarked that these few women gave him more trouble than all the Jesuits put together.

Another worry appeared in the person of a certain William Postell, who was an amateur prophet, lightning calculator, and expert linguist. As a novice he was a tornado of disruption with his false visions, speeches, and writings. The fathers tried everything to soothe his genius and bring it under control, but in the end had to dismiss him.<sup>6</sup>

It is little wonder that Ignatius was delighted to welcome the level-headed Laynez back to Rome. Domestic discussion on internal affairs of the Society immediately occupied the returned Spaniard: in external matters he preached in the morning at the church of St. Lawrence, and after dinner explained the Sacred Scriptures.

During the summer a number of Laynez' friends among the clergy and laity tried to obtain a bishopric for him. He was young for such an honor, being only thirty-three years old in 1545; but even younger men were being made bishops and even cardinals in that century, and for less solid reasons. Urban Weber, bishop of Laybach, made several attempts to have Laynez appointed his coadjutor and successor in his see. But the Spaniard would not be tied down to such a position; the vision of his apostolate was a more foot-loose and universal thing in the Church. Both he and Ignatius resisted all attempts to have any of the "reformed priests" raised to prelatial honors. His refusal was more than a mere expression of the ecclesiastical good manners of the time, *nolo episcopari*. It was a genuine belief that the scope of his abilities could better serve the cause of Christ in the simple priesthood.

At Rome during the following winter Laynez continued his usual occupations, dividing his time more or less equally between the public ministry and the domestic task of helping Ignatius Loyola in the

<sup>6</sup> Postell is an interesting example of genius run wild. Ribadeneira says that Ignatius employed every means to bring him round: instruction and advice from Laynez and Salmeron, private admonitions and public penances; he even commanded that nobody in the house should talk to him, "which was a novelty and a cause of wonder." Postell could speak a dozen languages, among them Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldean, was an excellent philosopher, mystic, mathematician, had been royal professor on the faculty of the University of Paris. Later his books were condemned as dangerous and heretical. He himself was imprisoned by the Inquisition, and broke his arm in trying to escape. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 638 f., where also is reprinted Laynez' opinion of Postell's writings.

work of the Society. At the end of the winter, probably in March, 1546, his father, John Laynez, died at Almazan in Spain. Communications were so poor in those days that the first letter telling this news was lost in transit. The second letter, sent on April 28, was received three months later by Laynez, who was then at the Council of Trent. His reply to Elizabeth Gomez de Leon, his mother, is probably the longest letter he ever wrote. It expresses his deep sorrow, and at the same time supplies us with information about his family, unobtainable from any other extant records.



## CHAPTER V

# *The Pope's Own Man*

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### THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

THE famous Council of Trent, nineteenth ecumenical gathering of the Pope and bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, was a long time in the making, but it was the most thorough and most needed council in the history of the Church. The Fifth Lateran Council had convened from 1512 to 1517 for the purpose of ecclesiastical reform, but, besides condemning forty-one propositions of Martin Luther, it did little else and ended inconclusively. The Council of Trent, hampered by postponements and adjournments, stretched out over eighteen years, from 1545 to 1563. James Laynez was to be present at its most important sessions as one of its most important personages.

Anyone who has studied the sixteenth century knows why the times demanded a Church council. Internal reforms were not enough, though there were people who believed that the removal of abuses would automatically restore Christian Europe to unity. The dogmatic assertions of Lutheranism demanded close scrutiny, and Luther himself at the Diet of Augsburg had asked for a council to investigate his claims. But now, in March, 1545, the recalcitrant friar was on the edge of the grave and one of his last vulgar pamphlets was an attack against the proposed Council.

Luther called Paul III the "Roman hermaphrodite" and the "Pope of Sodomites." No council could ever improve the character and morals of the Pope and his churchmen. "Since they believe that there is neither God nor hell nor a life after this life, but live and die like cow, sow, or any other cattle, it is indeed laughable that they should

hold seal or brief or reformation. Therefore this were best: let the Emperor and the Estates of the Empire tell the vicious, scandalous knaves and the cursed dregs of the devil at Rome to go to hell forever; yet there is no hope that any good will be gained. We must work in other ways. Nothing was ever set right by councils.”<sup>1</sup>

Martin Luther was not the only one who tried to stand in the way of the Council. Emperor Charles V wished to effect the reconciliation of Germany with the Church in a way that would be politically beneficial to himself. He was proud enough to try to dictate the place and the membership of the assembly, and constantly hedged the whole proceedings with threats and conditions. The King of France was afraid of both the Pope and the Emperor, but could not afford to break with both of them at the same time. He also tried to maintain friendly relations with the Lutheran princes. Pope Paul was himself afraid that if a Catholic Germany united under the Emperor, the papacy itself would become a mere political pawn in the imperial scheme of things.

It is to the credit of Paul III that he overrode all contrary considerations, even his own, and that the Council was finally and solemnly opened on the Third Sunday of Advent, December 13, 1545. The official conciliar legates of the Pope were Reginald Pole, who had probably met Ignatius and his companions at Venice, Giovanni del Monte, good friend of the Jesuits, and Marcellus Cervini, personal acquaintance of Laynez.

#### JESUITS AT THE COUNCIL

Three days after the Council opened, Le Jay arrived from Augsburg to act as the procurator of Cardinal Otto von Truchsess. With him was a secular priest, Andrew Rhem von Kötze, and for a while these two were Germany's only representatives at Trent. The Emperor had made things so disagreeable that the bishops found it impossible to answer the summons sent by Rome.

The earliest mention we can find of other Jesuits being sent to Trent is made in a letter of Ignatius to Doctor Ortiz, written on February 17, 1546. He remarks that His Holiness had requested some

<sup>1</sup> This is quoted from the *Nuntiaturberichte* by Pastor in his *History of the Popes*, XII, 215.

men to be sent to the council and he had chosen among others Peter Favre. About a month later he informed Francis Borgia, duke of Gandia, that he was going to send Favre, Laynez, and Salmeron to join Le Jay. Favre was already taken with his mortal illness when he returned to Rome from Spain, and he never went to Trent.

It is commonly believed that Paul III simply asked Loyola for "some men" to send as his personal theologians to the Council. But this surmise is based merely on the fact that Ignatius "had recourse to God our Lord for some days" before deciding to send the three men. He would have done this anyway, whether the choice was left to him or not. Both Laynez and Salmeron were at Rome at that time, and it is most probable that His Holiness asked for them personally and by name. He knew their theological worth from his own observation, and he had also noted the intellectual abilities of Favre when the latter taught at the Sapienza. I doubt that Loyola would have withdrawn him from Spain for any reason less weighty than a papal request.

Unfortunately for the careful historian, any document that may have been written to appoint the papal theologians is no longer available. Polanco briefly states that, "since the learning and piety of Fathers James Laynez and Alphonsus Salmeron were well known to the Pontiff and to the principal cardinals of the Roman Curia, in this current year both were sent to Trent as theologians of the Pope." Some pages later in his *Chronicon* he seems to have forgotten the previous remark and says that the Pope enjoined Ignatius to select some men for the purpose.<sup>2</sup>

Laynez and Salmeron reached Trent on May 18, 1546, carrying with them a set of carefully planned instructions regarding their conduct while there. At first blush it would seem superfluous for Loyola to give men like Laynez and Salmeron such simple and detailed commands. From previous experience they knew well how to act with every type of man, from prelates and princes to the humblest beggar on the street. However, the Ignatian memorandum is interesting not only as an indication of a well-laid campaign but also as a standard by which we can judge whether or not the Jesuits at Trent were obedient to their superior.

<sup>2</sup> These two statements are given in I, 150, 171.

## INSTRUCTIONS FROM IGNATIUS

The instruction is divided into three parts: the first treats of their actions in the Council sessions; the second concerns the manner of helping souls in general; and the third considers the way to safeguard and promote their own spiritual progress.

The first section contains nothing more or less than the principles of public speaking which every self-respecting orator will observe. Most of all, truth and objectivity were to be sought for; no histrionics, no table-thumping, no wild appeal to unverified authorities. The speaker should give his opinions in the clearest possible way, and only after he has weighed all the reasons alleged both for and against his stand. When he was certain of his facts, he should present them in a calm, modest way, phrasing them in such a way that the audience will be thinking for itself. Laynez did not comply fully with these remarks, and sometimes engaged in hot and angry debate with opponents.

The second section is an injunction to put the spiritual and corporal works of mercy into practice among the people of the city. They were to preach and lecture wherever and whenever possible, hear confessions, give spiritual advice, teach Christian doctrine to boys, in general try to bring about the same reform of morals as they had made in other cities. They should not let a day pass without visiting the hospitals and the slums, providing the poor with food, clothes, and medicine, as well as an opportunity to receive the sacraments.

Concerning themselves, finally, they were to meditate privately and discuss with one another the things done during the day. These nightly conversations would suggest ways of avoiding future mistakes, of devising new means of doing good. Prayer and self-examination were to be the tools used in the fundamental work of helping themselves and their fellow men.

The men were at Trent less than three weeks when they could report to Rome that they were carrying out all these instructions, with the exception of preaching in the city itself. The legates had set down a strict prohibition to the effect that no one attending the Council in any capacity whatever would be allowed to preach in public. This effectively prevented any enterprising theologian or bishop from airing pet theories of his own, and thus possibly swaying



or at least disturbing the members of the Council. Before the end of September, however, a special exception was made in favor of Laynez and Salmeron. The former then spoke every Sunday and feast day in the church of St. Maria Maggiore.

One day at the beginning of June, Salmeron wrote two letters to Ignatius, one of which was marked *en el secreto*. In the secret letter he says that they were trying to get the necessary permission to preach, that they stood in favor with most of the cardinals and bishops. But some of the representatives from Spain, *la nación espagnola, como más cosquillosa*, were quite peevish over the ragged appearance of the two priests from Almazan. Laynez and Salmeron made no pretense of maintaining a station of life above what they really considered themselves: simple, hard-working priests. They were poor men, and they looked like poor men. The proud and elegant Spaniards, both ecclesiastical and lay, who had come to Trent as though to nothing more than an important social function, thought that these two Jesuits were a disgrace to their native country and a menace to the reputation of their race.

James Laynez was entirely unmoved by such petty criticism. As he once remarked: "In my opinion, if a man would make great progress in the spiritual life, he should in his heart desire and strive only to please God in every place, time, action, thought, and word."<sup>3</sup> To him nothing else mattered, and he refused to become an ecclesiastical dandy at Trent or Rome or anywhere else. Father Manares says that he once saw him "go to an audience with the Pope and cardinals; and he was so poorly clad that his cloak was threadbare; his footgear was so worn that the toes showed through. This was an indication of his beloved poverty, unusual humility, and disregard of his own person."<sup>4</sup>

#### REPUTE OF LAYNEZ AND SALMERON

Animosity could not long remain in the face of the simple, holy way in which Laynez and Salmeron went about their tasks. They were immediately introduced into the assembly of the theologians, where preliminary investigations were made into the doctrinal matter of the Council. Here they were in their element.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Epistolae Nadal*, IV, 635 f.

<sup>4</sup> Father Oliver Manares recalled this incident after Laynez' death. *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 829 f.

Within two months of their arrival they were already reputed to be the most dependable men among the theologians. Cardinal Cervini, president of the Council, thought so highly of their learning that he appointed them as a kind of judge and critic of all that went on in these preliminary discussions. "The views of some of the theologians were not entirely sound, so the Cardinal [Cervini] suggested that one of us should be among the first to speak, explaining the matter at hand, and the other should keep himself for the end of the discussion, especially to refute whatever errors were made."<sup>5</sup> It appears that Salmeron took the first position, and Laynez, who was the more eloquent and more capable in quick, extemporaneous debate, made the concluding remarks.

Anyone who pictures Laynez and his companions as three aloof and scholarly recluses, spending all their time in deep study and high theological discussions, has no proper perspective of Jesuit activity. These men had been leaders in what we moderns are pleased to call "social work." Everywhere they went, even from the first days at Paris, one of their chief concerns was the relief of the destitute and hungry, the sick and the poor. They lost no time in starting a heroic campaign of relief even while their minds were taken up with the problems of divine science.

Beggars and pilgrims were present at Trent, as well as in every other European city, and many of them had to be supported by charity because they either would not or could not work for their living. Laynez and the others asked no questions; they simply gave what they could, and then begged more from their wealthy friends. He relates that they made up a list of all the prelates and other representatives at the Council, and then went to them soliciting alms. In this way they were able to supply a complete outfit, from cap to shoes, for seventy-six poor men. Salmeron embellishes with the remark that since the beggars gambled even for their clothes the priests decided to give them each a single, one-piece suit. From then on the gamblers had to use things other than clothing for collateral.

<sup>5</sup> This and the other activities of the Jesuits at Trent are described in *Epistolae Salmeronis*, I, 15-37. There is an unaccountable lacuna in Laynez' correspondence to Rome at this time. I suspect that all in all he was not much of a letter writer, even though there exist more than twenty-two hundred letters sent in his name. Most of these he dictated to secretaries. His own handwriting was so atrocious that few persons could read it.

## SPEECH ON JUSTIFICATION

The most important contribution made by Laynez to the early sessions of the Council was his speech on imputed justice, made before the whole gathering on October 26, 1546. The whole problem of justification had to be thoroughly discussed; in fact, it was a problem that Luther himself had raised, and some dogmatic settlement had to be found. Before it was settled it had been mulled over in forty-four semi-official meetings and sixty-one general assemblies, a fact that shows not only its importance but also the earnestness and thoroughness with which the Council treated it.

"Since the dogma of justification," wrote Pallavicini, "is in a way the dividing line that separates the Catholics from the heretics, and the tree from which other errors or other truths stem like so many branches, and since the Imperialists took full advantage of the gravity of this question to cause delay and to justify their slowness, it is almost incredible with what care, subtlety, and perseverance every syllable in the congregations was weighed and discussed, first in the meetings of the theologians who were only consultants, and then in those of the fathers who had deliberative voice."

Justification is in itself extremely important because upon it hinges the entire divine economy for the salvation of man. In the widest possible terms, it is man's "regeneration in God"; it may be called the process by which a man changes from a sinner to a saint. It has various elements, the first of which is faith. And this question of faith, its definition and nature and the part it plays in the process of man's justification, constituted the central dispute between the Catholics and the Protestants of the sixteenth century.

Calvin taught that justification consists exclusively and essentially in the remission of sins. Luther's teaching was ambiguous and variable, but it seems to come to this: man has to believe very firmly in God's mercy, and by this belief he draws over himself the extrinsic justice of Christ. Thus his sins are no longer "imputed" to him, and the process of justification becomes nothing more than an outward imputation of the righteousness of Christ.

These wrong notions had to be set straight at Trent; and the further difficulty came up in the fact that some of the Catholic theologians had been attempting to meet the Reformers' views halfway.

Some of the most distinguished contemporary names were mentioned among those who desired a compromise, names like Contarini, Cajetan, Pighius, Pflug, and Gropper. During the summer of 1546 four bishops had submitted a draft of a decree on justification. It was cut to pieces by the eagle-eyed defenders of Catholic dogma. Then Seripando, general of the Augustinians, capable theologian in his own right, and later President of the Council, directed the working out of another decree. This also met furious opposition and underwent such change that, as Pallavicini says, "he hardly recognized it for his own work."

#### SERIPANDO'S OPINION

The opinion of Seripando on justification is worth noting here because it is the one which Laynez had in mind when he gave his own celebrated speech on imputed justice. Seripando maintained that faith is the principle from which justification flows; it is also the cause which infallibly produces justification. Hence if we have faith in the Redeemer, the merits of the Redeemer are applied to us. The Augustinian then argued for two species of justice, one intrinsic, the other extrinsic. Intrinsic justice was again divided into two kinds: the one changes us from sinners to children of God by means of grace infused through the sacrament; the other is the justice by which a man is said to live justly and it consists in the acts of virtue produced by the same grace. Extrinsic justice is the merits and justice of Christ imputed to us according to the degree of efficaciousness which is pleasing to God.

In this explanation there is a dangerous leaning toward the Lutheran point of view, for Seripando continued by attempting to show in what sense it is true to say that justification is obtained by faith and not by works. The passage from enemy to friend of God, that is, first justification, is not the reward of works but a pure mercy of the Savior. Thus the further question came up: does a man have sufficient title to salvation if he has infused justice and the merits which he has acquired through it, or must he also have the grace of Christ imputed to him? In answering that both intrinsic and extrinsic justice were required, Seripando was seconded by only five of the theologians present.

"Outstanding among those who consecrated their time and their



pens to this discussion was James Laynez, who wrote a treatise rather than an opinion against the stand of Seripando, in which he discussed at the same time the whole question of justification. His work was so highly regarded that it was included word for word in the authentic acts of the Council." <sup>6</sup>

The Augustinian General's theory of a twofold justice had been introduced on October 8, 1546, and it had such an electric effect that it brought practically the whole Council to its feet. Ten separate and lengthy meetings were held from October 15 to October 26, and almost all the theologians submitted their opinions in writing. Among the first to express himself was Salmeron, who stated briefly: "We are formally justified by intrinsic justice, but when it is given to us it is given freely by God and through the merits of Christ, who is the meritorious cause of this justice. Therefore this justice inhering in us is not properly our own, but God's, Christ's. When, therefore, we become coheirs we do so with the justice of Christ, and we need no other imputative justice. Furthermore, if we were justified with imputative justice, we would not be truly just, but only reputed as such; and this is false."

#### LAYNEZ' OPINION

Before giving Laynez' opinion we must remark here that neither Laynez, Salmeron, Le Jay, nor any of the others present at Trent, looked upon Seripando as an unorthodox theologian. Popular writings on this phase of the Council have made the impression that the Augustinian was something less than Catholic and that the Jesuits had to rush to the defense of orthodoxy. This is entirely counter to the facts. Seripando was somewhat daring in bringing the matter out the way he did, quoting in its defense Bernard, Augustine, and some contemporary authors. He wanted the thing settled, even though some big names were involved; and his herculean services throughout the whole Council show that both his ability and his Catholicity were beyond question.

When Laynez took the floor for his famous speech on October 25, he had prepared only an outline and a few notes. By popular demand

<sup>6</sup> This remark as well as the explanation of Seripando's teaching is contained in Pallavicini, Vol. II, XVIII, chap. 11.

he afterward wrote it out carefully under the title *Disputatio de justitia imputata*, and it is this version that Hartmann Grisar deciphered and published from the original manuscript in 1886.<sup>7</sup> It is divided into three parts, or chapters: the first explains the state of the question, the second gives the arguments in favor of Laynez' opinion, and the third refutes at great length the contrary opinions.

We must suppose, says Laynez in the beginning of his speech, that the justice of Christ is in some way imputed to us. For St. Paul says that "to him that worketh, the reward is not reckoned according to grace, but according to debt. But to him that worketh not, yet believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is reputed to justice" (Rom. 4: 4 f.). Now the three opinions concerning the imputation of justice can be shown in the following. A certain powerful king has a son to whom all the treasures of the kingdom will be given. The son has three servitors to whom he holds out the reward of a precious jewel. To the first he says: "Simply believe in me, and I will see to it that the jewel is given to you gratuitously." To the second he says: "I give you a large sum of money so that you can redeem yourself; buy a horse and arms, and fight it out for yourself." To the third he gives liberty, health, and weapons as an outright gift so that he can fight bravely and merit the jewel.

The first servitor is an example of the way the Protestant theory of justification is applied. The justice of the king's son is a mere imputation and nothing at all inherent in man. The second servitor exemplifies the theory of justification put forth by Seripando, and Laynez explains briefly the parallel to that position. The third example is the Catholic position, in which the gem itself is merited by the son, while the servitor receives a means by which he is able to merit the gem.

After this primary exposition of the question under discussion, Laynez launches into what he considers the orthodox theory of justification. There is no need, he says, of any new mercy or new imputation of the justice of Christ because of the lack of inherent justice. The fact is that the fruit of the justice of Christ is applied to us by

<sup>7</sup> Before Grisar set to work on Laynez' manuscripts it was thought that they were useless because of their almost illegible handwriting. He published his findings under the title *Disputationes Tridentinae* in two volumes, but included also some of the other speeches and writings of Laynez. The speech on imputed justice is on pp. 153-92 of the second volume. For a short appreciation of Hartmann Grisar, who died in 1932, see Francis Betten's article in the *Catholic Historical Review*, XVIII, 229-32.

means of merit and retribution, and not by means of imputation. *Quod variis viis probatur.*

The various ways of proving his statement were developed into twelve concise and lucid arguments showing exactly why the twofold theory of justification could not be admitted. It would break down the true idea of spiritual perfection, weaken the fact that sanctification is something intrinsic to the soul. It would also have direct repercussions against the true Catholic doctrines of merit by good works, remission of sins, satisfaction and purgatory, divine providence.

In a sense, the last part of the speech, by far the longest section, is a series of simply negative arguments. In it Laynez thoroughly refutes all the principal statements of his adversaries, and at the same time demonstrates his easy knowledge of the Old and New Testament and the writings of the early Fathers. Here too his orderly mind arranged twelve separate arguments, often enough taking the very texts cited against his position, showing their true interpretation, and employing them as a defense.

In his conclusion the Jesuit theologian remarks that in this theory of imputed justice "there is contained something strange, something novel, and also something false. And so, to those who hold it we can say with Augustine: 'They are strange, novel, and false things which you say. We are astonished by the strange things, we beware the novel things, and we show clearly the false things.' "

According to the Diary which Massarelli kept at the Council of Trent, Laynez concluded his speech with a few words about the certitude with which man possesses divine grace. In the middle of October this question had been proposed to the theologians assembled, and now, almost as an afterthought Laynez remarked: "I could quote many authorities from the Scriptures and the holy Fathers and prove also from reason that this is a probable opinion, namely, that some men in particular cases can have the certitude of faith about their reception of divine grace. I could also, without any difficulty, I think, answer all the arguments brought up in favor of the contrary opinion. I would do so but for the fact that we should await a definition by this holy synod."

It is not an exaggeration to say that Laynez' speech was the most influential given at the conferences of theologians and that because of it the theory of imputed justice was defeated by a vote of



thirty-two to five. Seripando and four others constituted the minority voice; and the proposal then went on to further discussion among the official members of the Council. Through November and December and almost to the middle of January, 1547, the proposed decree on justification was argued back and forth. One of the things which lengthened the debate was Cardinal Pacheco's insistence that there should be included in the decree a chapter on the question of man's certitude in possessing grace and justification. Cardinal Del Monte and many others objected successfully.

#### THE COUNCIL'S DECREE

Finally, on January 13, the sixth session of the Council of Trent solemnly convened to pronounce the famous decree on justification. It is a relatively short document, containing sixteen chapters, only two of which are more than a page in length. To it are added thirty-three canons, that is, short, pithy sentences which say what cannot be held under pain of anathema or excommunication from the true Church of God. Pastor calls all this "a masterpiece of theology, formulating with clearness and precision the standard of Catholic truth as distinguished from Pelagian error on the one hand and Protestant on the other."<sup>8</sup>

#### DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENTS

Le Jay was the only one of the three Jesuits who took part in the latter discussion on justification. The work of the theologians, Laynez and Salmeron, ended with the former's speech on October 25; but Cardinal Del Monte already had another task at hand for them. He wished them to make up a list of all the Protestant errors about the sacraments so that they could be proposed for discussion among the theologians, and afterward to the Council as a whole. He asked them, furthermore, to survey the history of the Church, assemble all pertinent decisions by previous Councils, all papal decrees and writings of the early Fathers which would discountenance contemporary sacramental errors.

<sup>8</sup> The decree and canons on justification are practically memorized in all seminaries, and are published in Denzinger's *Enchiridion symbolorum*, 793-843. An English version is available, published by Herder in 1941: H. J. Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*.



Layneze could without great difficulty do the necessary research in the Church documents and the patristic writings, but the summary of the modern heresies was almost beyond his powers. Some of it was either written in Latin or translated into it, but much of the original writing had been done in German, and the Spaniard needed an interpreter. Le Jay knew the language, but his time was taken up at the meetings. There was nothing to it but to employ translators until the time when Peter Canisius arrived at Trent. It seems that this twenty-four-year-old scholar and future doctor of the Church came only at the end of January, 1547, when the compilation of Protestant errors had already been completed. From then on, however, he was of invaluable assistance.

The first fruits of this tremendous research by Laynez and Salmeron were given to the assembled fathers and theologians on January 17, when Cardinal Cervini publicly read a threefold list of errors. The first was on the sacraments in general, the second on the sacrament of baptism, and the third on the sacrament of confirmation. Copies were distributed to all who were present, and three days later the theologians assembled to discuss them. Salmeron spoke on January 21, and the next day Laynez himself presented his own views. The speech he made on that day has never been published and has probably suffered the same fate as most of his other writings and speeches.

There was not nearly so much disagreement about the sacraments as there had been about justification, with the result that thirty canons were promulgated by the Council on March 3, 1547. Thirteen of them treated the sacraments in general, fourteen were on baptism, and three on confirmation. Preparatory work went steadily forward on the sacraments of the Eucharist and of penance. However, the fact is that these two sacraments would not be officially voted upon for several years.

Canisius was now intimately connected with Laynez and Salmeron in this work, and his admiration of them took the form of the following eulogy. "I can honestly testify," he said, "that the most learned theologians have come here from everywhere, and they debate closely, carefully, and wisely about the deepest affairs; but among them all none are more popular or more admired than Laynez and Salmeron. A few of the theologians are allowed to speak for an hour, but the

Cardinal President himself has allowed Father Laynez to speak for three hours or more at a time.”<sup>9</sup>

Le Jay also wrote to Ignatius to report the important position which Laynez and Salmeron enjoyed at Trent and the tremendous labor they were performing both in the Council and out of it. After remarking that Cervini had presented their findings on heretical teachings to the assemblage without altering a word, he says that the Lord Jesus Christ is being better served by these two men than by any other theologian. What is more, Laynez continues to preach in all his spare time, “though I think he will have to stop during Lent because the custom here is to have only one preacher, and that one in the church itself. It is really my belief that James needs a rest of some days from both study and preaching, because I notice that he is quite fatigued and too weak. Although it is true that he needs rest, he is unwilling to take it. Only yesterday I asked him to take a vacation from the books for three or four days; and I made the same request of Alphonsus.”<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile the duchess of Florence, Eleanor of Toledo, tried to induce Ignatius to send Laynez to evangelize the territories under her control. She asked Cardinal Carpi to influence Loyola on her behalf and also to persuade the Pope to release his theologian from Trent. For almost a year the Duchess was insistent in her request; and Loyola finally asked Laynez whether he could break away from his duties to take on this new work. Laynez replied that he would gladly and immediately follow his superior's orders, but that Cardinal Cervini absolutely forbade his departure.

It must have been with some satisfaction that Loyola heard the Cardinal's words in praise of Laynez, how indispensable the man was, how important his contribution on the problem of the sacraments. Philip Archinto, the papal vicar, also informed him that Laynez could nowhere in the world do more profitable work for the Church than right here at Trent. Ignatius consented to the desires of these prelates. Laynez, after the seventh session, moved with the Council to Bologna.

<sup>9</sup> This tribute to Laynez is recorded by Polanco in the *Chronicon* for 1547, I, 247. It was probably told him personally in later years by Canisius, for it is not found in any of the latter's letters.

<sup>10</sup> This letter was sent at the end of January, but there is no indication that Laynez followed Le Jay's advice. Salmeron was the one who collapsed from overwork two months later.

## CHAPTER VI

### *In the City of Savonarola*

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#### TRANSFER OF THE COUNCIL

THE moving of the Council from Trent to Bologna is a drama in itself. The most powerful religious and political forces of Europe were pulling the legates in different directions, and seldom in unison. At the beginning of March, 1547, an epidemic of spotted fever broke out at Trent, prostrated some of the fathers, and proved fatal to Bishop Loffredo of Capaccio. About a dozen of the prelates fled from the city, some without asking for the required permission. An extraordinary session, the eighth, was held on March 11, and a majority voted for the removal to Bologna, where there was less danger of contracting the disease.

This procedure would seem rational and democratic to a modern critic, but the sixteenth century was not always rational and democratic in accordance with today's standards. Charles V decided that the bishops were trying to escape from his control by moving closer to Rome. Paul III wished to leave the members of the Council free to decide the question, but he knew that they would have to reckon with the Emperor. Fourteen imperialist prelates refused to leave Trent. Charles, convinced that the Pope had ordered the change, demanded the Council's immediate return to Trent. In April, Paul III reminded the Emperor that, as eldest son of the Church, he should not forget who was head of the Church. In the middle of September the fathers at Bologna suspended discussions indefinitely until a time when they could proceed unhindered by political dictatorship.

Upon the order of Cardinal Cervini, Laynez and Salmeron left

Trent on March 14 and journeyed to Bologna by way of Padua. There was no need for haste, since the first convocation was to be held on April 21 at the new site of the Council. At Padua, Salmeron was taken down with a severe fever, which the local doctor called *molto pericolosa* and which Laynez himself thought would be fatal. With the utmost care and loyalty James nursed his boyhood friend back to health, administered the last sacraments at the critical moment, and stayed close to him during convalescence.

Cervini asked Laynez to come as soon as he could safely leave Salmeron alone, for the fathers were working on the sacrament of penance and his assistance was sorely needed. In the meantime Canisius had arrived at Padua and, in accordance with the Cardinal's instructions, departed with Laynez on the third day after Easter. As procurator for the Bishop of Augsburg, Le Jay had been forced to step cautiously in the presence of the German representatives. He finally got away from Trent, however, picked up Salmeron at Padua, and came to Bologna at the end of April.

#### LAYNEZ' SPEECH ON THE SACRAMENTS

Although Cervini, president of the Council, desired that no new dogmatic decrees should be formally voted upon and promulgated until the differences between Pope and Emperor were settled, he did urge complete discussion of the remaining sacraments. Laynez was asked to give a thorough exposition of the sacrament of penance before the assembled theologians on April 23. He talked for more than three hours, and, for lack of time, had to postpone his conclusions and summary till the 25th. The speech is not recorded except in general outline. He explained the matter and form of the sacrament, demonstrated with faultless logic the necessity for confessing one's sins, for being sincerely contrite, and for making satisfaction for them. At the end he gave some time to current unorthodox opinions, especially to those which scouted the whole idea of confessing sins to a priest. Three days later Salmeron spoke on the same subject. On April 30 Laynez gave a speech on the sacrament of extreme unction. During the following month he worked mainly with Salmeron, Le Jay, and Canisius on matters pertaining to holy orders and matrimony.

There were so many calls on his time that he was never able to concentrate on any single problem for the space of more than a few



hours. His work on holy orders and matrimony was in preparation for the theologians' preliminary discussions on these sacraments. Meanwhile the official delegates of the Council were continuing the final drafts for decisions on the sacraments of the Eucharist and of penance. The Secretary frequently called upon the Jesuits' expert assistance in this delicate piece of work.

In his *Diary* for 1547, Massarelli made the two following entries: "May 15, Sunday. After dinner I called upon Fathers Claude, James, and Alphonsus of the Society of Jesus, and showed them the censures on the canons concerning the Eucharist. We discussed the censures for four hours, and I reported the results to Cardinal Cervini. June 4, Saturday. The canons on the sacrament of penance have been drafted for examination in the coming session. I showed them to Fathers Alphonsus, James, and Claude of the Society of Jesus, and to Brother Peter Paul Januarius of the Order of Preachers."<sup>1</sup>

These entries in the official conciliar Diary indicate that Laynez was more than ever the Pope's own man and that he had a hand in every important decision made at the Council. But there was a change in the offing. The actual work on the final decisions and definitions by members of the Council had come almost to a halt. The uncertain slowness of conciliar action at this time irked Laynez, who always wished to get things done. Although Salmeron and Le Jay continued at Bologna until the indefinite suspension of the Council, Laynez obtained permission from Cardinal Cervini to go to Florence in the middle of June, 1547.

#### LAYNEZ AT FLORENCE

The duke of Ferrara, Cosmo de Medici, and especially his duchess, Eleanor of Toledo, had been insistently clamoring for Laynez' services since the previous year, even before he went to Trent. They pressed Ignatius for a command of obedience which would send the brilliant Jesuit Jew to their territories. But that prudent superior would make no decision in the matter until he had obtained opinions from the men at the Council itself. While still at Trent, the legates would not hear of Laynez' removal; and Salmeron expressed the general evaluation of Laynez in a letter to Ignatius about the middle of January.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Diariorum iv apud Merkle Conc. Trid. I*, pp. 652, 660.

I believe that our Lord is being served in a special way here by Master Laynez. As his presence now is so essential, I am convinced that if you were here you would admit that removing him would be like depriving this whole Council of one of its eyes. He is treating of such subtle affairs and is teaching and lecturing on many things with such forcefulness that the love and good will of cardinals and prelates of all nations are accepting and embracing his doctrines. Up to now I have always been in obedience to you, in helping to carry out what you have planned, but I clearly see that Laynez' presence is essential and most useful to the Council.<sup>2</sup>

Layneze would have been blind had he not realized that the work he was doing at the Council was of supreme importance, but he was unwilling that his own opinions and desires should influence the decisions of his superior, in whom he saw the will of God. As he once remarked: "When a man is selected by the Lord to do a certain work, he will do it well. But if he is not selected by the Lord for this work he will do it uselessly."<sup>3</sup> In accord with this principle of obedience to God's will, he told Ignatius in February: "Concerning what you say about my going to Florence, I am ready and willing to do so whenever you command it; and as soon as your instruction arrives I will put it into execution with all the strength which our Lord has deigned to communicate to me."<sup>4</sup>

In April, Laynez was visited by Guido de Guidonibus, archdeacon of Modena and close friend of the Duke of Ferrara. He urged so strongly the need of a Jesuit priest at Florence that Laynez began to see the wisdom of complying with the Duke's wishes. He suggested to Ignatius that Le Jay be sent in his place, but the Jesuit General informed him that he, Laynez, was to go whenever the cardinal legate, Cervini, would permit it. This permission was reluctantly granted, and Laynez left Bologna on June 17, arriving at Florence the next day. Two weeks later, Salmeron, still at Bologna, informed Laynez that the Cardinal already regretted his decision and was talking of recalling him to the Council.<sup>5</sup>

Two Jesuits, Andrew des Freux and Jerome Otello, had already installed themselves at Florence, and were doing good work among

<sup>2</sup> *Epistolae Salmeronis*, I, 36 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Epistolae Nadal*, IV, 639.

<sup>4</sup> *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 53.

<sup>5</sup> *Epistolae Salmeronis*, I, 41. This letter has been lost, but the editors reconstruct this much of its contents from other sources.

the people. They welcomed their famous confrere with open arms, and watched him on the day after his arrival, a Sunday, begin his favorite work of teaching and preaching. On July 2, 1547, Laynez sent a long account of his activities in and around the city to Loyola, an account which virtually breathes his love of the pulpit.<sup>6</sup>

#### HIS PREACHING

Layneze was now publicly speaking in a city that had entertained some famous orators. The oldest inhabitants of Florence could still recall the firebrand that was Savonarola, whose preaching had been the most exciting thing of the previous century. Laynez discovered that there were still numerous devoted followers of the great Dominican in the city, and he neatly avoided any mention of Savonarola's name. In fact, he told Ignatius that, to keep himself from being influenced either for or against the Florentine preacher, he wished not to read Savonarola's sermons.<sup>7</sup> His fellow Jesuit, Jerome Otello, was not so cautious in this delicate matter and soon found himself in conflict with several hundred disciples of Savonarola. Laynez defended Otello, however, declaring privately that he need not retract his statements.

A comparison between Laynez and the mighty Dominican would be impossible and invidious. Both men had a burning zeal for the advancement of God's glory, but this zeal was tempered in Laynez to a point where it did not perpetually antagonize people. There must have been some noticeable similarity, however, for these very Florentines swarmed around the Jesuit's pulpit. "Never in our times," conscientiously reported Des Freux, "has man spoken as this man speaks." The sermons were as perfect as the brilliant orator could make them; tone and gesture were exactly fitted to the thought, which in turn was most lucidly expressed.

Florence marked the highest point of popularity in the Spanish Jesuit's successful career as a preacher; and it was the most fruitful

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 61-67. This letter is the basis for Polanco's remarks in *Chronicon*, I, 219-23. Cf. also Astrain, *op. cit.*, I, 499 f.

<sup>7</sup> The difficulty which Otello, not yet a priest, caused here, was the occasion of Laynez' comments. See his letter to Loyola of April, 1548, in *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 83 f. Almost ten years later, when Laynez was vicar-general, the Jesuit rector at Florence, Louis Coudret, wished to destroy Savonarola's works. Polanco told Coudret that such an idea never even entered the mind of Laynez. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, II, 603.

in conversions. His words seemed to contain the proper persuasion to change ordinary men into staunch Catholics, and hesitant sinners into good men. He was everywhere in demand in the city itself, as well as in Perugia, Montepulciano, and Siena, to which places he made short, apostolic excursions during the autumn and winter.

Upon his first arrival at Florence, Laynez had been offered a home and all the necessities of living by John de Rosi, a medical man and old friend of the early Jesuits. Such kindness multiplied with the years as the priest's renown grew, but he knew from previous experience that it is always better for a man of God to shun even the appearance of high living. Consequently he took up quarters at the hospital of St. Paul, which had the added advantage of being centrally located. There he had a separate private room for hearing confessions and dispensing spiritual advice to the hundreds who came every day. His recreation was the care and consolation of the sick, and in the best tradition of his young religious order he performed menial physical tasks.

During the octave of the feast of St. John, Laynez gave sermons that were directly patterned on the teachings of that apostle. He spoke especially of the kingdom of God and of the means necessary to reach it. Even during the holidays, when people are not usually inclined toward spiritual topics, the crowds were immensely gratified with these sermons. "Contrary to the custom of the city," says Polanco, "the benefit to both clerics and lay people was so great that they asked him to continue the series after the octave. Furthermore, the canons of the cathedral invited him to preach there during the following Lent. Quite a few Florentines looked round for a good location for a college and, during the course of sermons, offered him six or seven places. Some of the highest nobility in the ducal household praised his preaching *ut quid rarum et insolitum*."

#### SERMONS IN THE CATHEDRAL

The authorities at Florence, seemingly led by a certain Alexander Strozio, arranged for Laynez to give instructions to the populace in the cathedral itself and in the church of St. Lawrence. Stephen Columna, the Duke's military representative, and various other ranking officials had problems for Laynez to solve, but the latter gives no hint about their contents. Polanco states simply that they began to make



use of him in important affairs. They offered him money for his services. Laynez refused for a time to accept, and finally compromised by undertaking to distribute for them to the poor of the city whatever monies they wished to donate.

On July 17, in the cathedral, Laynez began a series of talks on the Epistles of St. John. At the request of the Vicar he then repeated the same talks in greater detail and with special applications in several convents of the city. This activity and his routine work at the hospital kept the Jesuit completely occupied until September. The bishop of Perugia, Bernard Simonetta, had prevailed upon Ignatius to send Laynez to his city. Laynez, following instructions from Rome, gave a farewell sermon to the people of Florence on September 4, to which more than three thousand persons listened. It seems that these good Italians were at no pains to conceal their displeasure over his departure, and Laynez had to promise them that he would try to return as soon as possible.

All Italy was in a troubled state over the assassination of Peter Aloysius, the son of Paul III, and for a while it looked as though there would be civil war. He had been killed at Piacenza at the connivance, it was popularly believed, of the Emperor's followers. As a result of this suspicion there was hostility toward the Spaniards and Germans, and Laynez found himself in the unpredictable quandry of an unwelcome alien at Perugia. He noted that only two hundred persons came to hear his first sermon, and he privately complained of the stupidity of men in not being able to realize that a Spanish priest could work for the glory of God and the good of souls without mixing himself in political matters.

There were no threats of any kind made against the Jesuit at Perugia. His failure to attract large audiences was owing to the common preoccupation and quick prejudice among the people. In no way did he slow up his work, changing to the more intimate task of hearing confessions and giving the spiritual exercises and making a great success of this among the clergy and nuns. He made fast friends for himself and the Society during this brief sojourn, and this friendly regard fructified several years later in the form of a collegiate foundation given by Perugia to the Jesuits.

When Cardinal Cervini discovered that Laynez was so close at hand, he sent a message asking him to come to the town of Eugubio,

about twenty miles from Perugia. There the Jesuit could remain only eleven days, but he managed to deliver six formal sermons to the people and to give an intense program of religious instructions in several of the Cardinal's convents. The Vicar of the diocese made the astounding statement that these nuns had never even heard, much less understood, such instructions before. The lack of spiritual guidance for these sincere women is a source of endless astonishment to one who appreciates the care and attention which nuns receive in the present day.

Layneze was given *carte blanche* to travel about the towns of northern Italy, on condition that he would return to Florence for Advent. It is not quite certain what towns he visited besides Cortona and Montepulciano. At the latter place he could stay only three days, which he spent with practically no rest. The archpriest of the place made him promise to send a Jesuit to them later, a promise fulfilled in the person of Father Des Freux.

Returning to Florence at the end of November, 1547, he worked there until January, when he went to Siena. The usual round of apostolic labor took a slightly different turn for him on the feast of the Immaculate Conception. After giving the scheduled sermon in Italian from the cathedral pulpit, he preached in Spanish to the military garrison stationed there. His popularity with the soldiers was immediate. From that day onward most of them came to Laynez, promising a change for the better and frequent confession. They posed the most difficult cases of conscience for him, mainly concerned with the restitution of money and goods stolen on military campaigns.

The series of Advent sermons, culminating on Christmas Day, was so effective that Laynez was forced to spend almost the whole week, from Christmas to New Year's Day, in the arduous task of hearing confessions. Among those men who have been historically the most successful in winning souls to Christ, we must place Laynez. He breathed forth confidence, smoothly and expertly showed sinners that God's forgiveness was easy to obtain, and then pointed out how future temptations to sin could be avoided or thwarted.

In January he spent the three coldest weeks of the year at Siena, and, though the churches in which he preached were veritable ice-boxes, they were always filled to the doors. On one occasion he spoke to an estimated 5,000 persons. Back again at Florence for the Lent of

1548, he preached, as Polanco tells us, to 8,000 and 9,000 persons on the feast days. Whether this was the number of his listeners at any one time, or whether the chronicler meant that so many heard him on successive days, is not clear. When he preached on the Gospel story of the sinful woman who came to Christ in the house of the Pharisee, there were present in his audience a number of fallen women who had been persuaded to attend for that particular sermon. Seven or eight of them petitioned for places in the homes of pious women in the hope of reforming their lives. On Palm Sunday he again preached to the soldiers in the city.

#### ADVICE ON PREACHING

The eloquence of the Spanish Jew had by this time become so well-known among his Jesuit brothers and among the other clergy of Italy that many came to him for advice in preaching. Laynez was no mere orator. He did not speak merely for the sake of speaking. His aim was always to achieve the very highest effect: the conversion of souls to God. Thus the short treatise he composed for those who wanted guidance in public speaking was not meant as an instruction in the art of rhetoric. It is nothing more than a practical pamphlet to guide priests in sermon construction and delivery.<sup>8</sup>

He begins by explaining briefly the purpose of the sacred orator, who "is a fisher of men and who leads them into their heavenly home." It is not merely to gain a name as a polished and erudite speaker, who spellbinds the crowd with subtle and ornate discourse. The most important means for success is close union with God, without which a preacher is nothing. With it he will always have the right intention and the persistent constancy so necessary when things go wrong. The profane speaker draws his audience to himself, the preacher draws them to God.

Laynež then explains the threefold duty of every speaker, which consists in teaching, persuading, and pleasing his listeners. He must teach truthful things that are spiritually useful, and at the same time he must do so prudently. "While it is true," says Laynez, "that

<sup>8</sup> This little treatise, written originally in Spanish, is entitled, *Estos son unos avisos para los que comienzan á predicar*, and was published for the first time in this language by Azagra, *op. cit.*, pp. 385-450. Grisar gives a Latin version in his work, II, 506-42. It is impossible now to discover the exact time when Laynez wrote it.



God could speak by the mouth of an ass, this would be considered a miracle. We are tempting God when we expect miracles. This would certainly be the case in a man who lacks common sense but who hopes to be a success merely by praying for it." To persuade an audience it will be most helpful if a man is himself of a forceful nature, if he brings forth the best arguments he can find, and if he uses careful diction and moderation of voice. The preacher should endeavor to please his listeners by telling them new facts, or at least by giving old truths in a new and interesting way. He should use comparisons and stories and quote authorities wherever these are known to people.

Layneze points out that he is simply explaining what St. Augustine meant by teaching, persuading, and pleasing an audience. Lastly there must be good order in preaching; for, as you separately eat various foods to enjoy the distinct taste of each and do not mix them all into one tasteless mass, so also must you carefully choose your texts and order them. "I will propose a few things along this line which I have discovered in my daily preaching, so that the reader can use them also, if they seem good to him."

Here is seasoned advice taken from the experience of a man who could sway thousands. Repeat a point two or three times, he says, varying the forms of expression each time so that there can be no doubt of your meaning. After one explanation change your voice and manner so that you seem to be speaking intimately and individually to each one present. Use contrasts and show both sides of the picture: what type of person truly exemplifies the virtue; who typifies the opposite vice. Study the way Gregory and Chrysostom achieved their results through such oratorical devices, and then put them into practice.

At the end Layneze mentions the things that should be most often treated in sacred oratory, for example, the duties of one's state of life, divine charity, providence, the redemption, occasions of sin, pride, friendship with God. "According to my opinion," he says, "these are the things about which the preacher should most often speak, for they are the roots of all good and evil. Finally, he should inquire which of them is peculiarly necessary in the place where he is to preach."

Because Layneze himself followed these "advices" for preachers, he could frequently report in his letters to Ignatius that his audience



seemed to be moved, that general confessions were numerous after his sermons, that ecclesiastical and civil authorities graciously congratulated him. Proof of his eloquent prowess is found also from more objective sources. Demands for his services as preacher continually poured in to Ignatius Loyola from all over Italy; and other Jesuits sending in their periodical reports to headquarters always had a word of fervent praise for the persuasive Spaniard.

## AT VENICE

After finishing his Lenten work at Florence in 1548, Laynez had an opportunity to display his oratorical abilities before the Venetian Senate. It was a vexatious business concerning some Church property, which took from April till the middle of September to settle, and which was not much to Laynez' liking. It went back to his good friend, Andrew Lippomani, who was so gracious and generous to the Jesuit students at the University of Padua.

Lippomani knew the needs of these young students and was himself wealthy enough to relieve them. He had ceded to the Society the priorship of St. Magdalen at Padua so that the rents coming from this benefice could be used for the support of the Jesuits there. Taking over the spiritual benefice was an easy enough matter, for the Pope willingly granted it to the Society, and Laynez and Le Jay officially took possession on April 25, 1548, in the presence of notary and witnesses. But when it came to collecting the money attached to the benefice, that is, the temporal possession, an adversary unexpectedly appeared in the form of Lippomani's brother, who wanted the benefice for his own son.

Since Padua was under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Venice, the approval of the Senate there had to be obtained in any transfer of goods or money. At first Laynez favored dropping the whole affair, but Loyola ordered him to see it through and to win the case if he could. For some reason, certain senators were opposed to the Jesuits' presence in the Venetian territories, but they hid their personal dislike under the pretended claim that the laws of the state prohibited new spiritual foundations and congregations. Laynez, together with Salmeron, who had come over to help him, held long conferences with these men. To them he showed the papal bull confirming the Society and another conferring the priorship. He also presented letters of

recommendation for the Jesuit work signed by the Pope, various cardinals, and ambassadors.

The case against the Jesuits was more hopeless than appears on the surface not only because the opposing parties presented equally weighty arguments and recommendations but also because, as the secretary of the Senate told Laynez, in other similar cases, even where there was no opposition, it was almost impossible to obtain a majority of affirmative votes.

By this time the summer was almost over, and the delay accomplished nothing more than to set Laynez more resolutely on obtaining the verdict. At last he got a hearing before a special committee appointed for benefices, and convinced its members completely that the Society had a right to the priorship. They were so well satisfied with the justice of his demands that they asked him to deliver a discourse before the full Senate explaining the affair. He did this; with the result that on September 15, 1548, only two senators voted against the Society while 143 voted affirmatively. In characteristic fashion Laynez declared that the success of the whole affair was owing to the prayers offered to God by Ignatius Loyola.<sup>9</sup>

It must not be thought that a man of Laynez' wide accomplishments would set everything else aside while working on an economic and temporal matter like the benefice of St. Magdalen. He took his usual spiritual occupations in stride, especially the public explanation of the Gospels, which he carried on at Padua, Bologna, and Venice. Except for a short rest in May, he continued at high speed until Ignatius called him to Rome in November, 1548.

#### LAYNEZ IN SICILY

The call to Rome meant a new and difficult commission for Laynez, expressly chosen by Cardinal Farnese to go down to the archiepiscopal city of Monreale, in Sicily. Greatly needed reforms were to be undertaken there, and the Cardinal wanted Laynez, whom he considered the best man for the purpose. The Spaniard arrived at Naples in the beginning of Advent and remained there until the turn of the year.

In his letter to Loyola, Laynez gives us a glimpse of some of the

<sup>9</sup> These matters are contained in five letters sent by Laynez to Loyola from April to October, 1548. Astrain, *op. cit.*, I, 500 f., also gives a brief account of the affair; as does Polanco, I, 272-74.

things he did during the last week of the year. On Sunday he preached in the Church of St. Aloysius, the largest one in the city. Tuesday found him in the pulpit of the cathedral, addressing a vast audience. On Wednesday he visited the duchess of Tagliacozzo, Joanna of Aragon, and gave a conference of more than an hour's length to her and her household. On Thursday one of the King's relatives arrived with a large retinue of nobles and learned men, who asked the Jesuit to repeat his sermon recently given at the cathedral. In his spare time that week he gave the spiritual exercises to John Cassini, his youthful Jesuit companion not yet ordained.

It was the custom at Naples on New Year's Day for some representatives of the city to place petitions before the Governor on behalf of the people. The first thing they requested on January 1, 1549, was the permanent appointment of Laynez to their city. When the Jesuit replied that he was already obliged to follow the orders of Cardinal Farnese and John de Vega, governor of Sicily, they assured him that they were sending letters to Pope Paul III, Cardinal Farnese, Cardinal Caraffa, and the Jesuit General, Ignatius Loyola.

Layneze knew that such popularity was in part accounted for by the reputation which the Society of Jesus had already obtained in southern Italy through the work of Bobadilla and others. But he would have been suspiciously humble not to know that he had himself brought that popularity to its present peak of enthusiasm among the Neapolitans. His suggestion was that Salmeron should take his place in the city, but the latter was engaged elsewhere, and in the event Bobadilla returned.

Polanco displays a legitimate pride in recording that the city's appreciation of Laynez was so great that he was sometimes forced to lecture and preach two or three times a day even though much of his time was consumed in spiritual conferences and confessions. John de Aversa, abbot of the monastery of St. Severin, who had previously been somewhat hostile toward Bobadilla, now succumbed to Laynez' charm of manner, declaring to Ignatius that if it were not for the order of holy obedience he would consider the Jesuit's departure a real calamity for Naples.<sup>10</sup>

On January 16, Laynez disembarked with Cassini and two other

<sup>10</sup> For further details of this short sojourn at Naples, see Polanco, I, 279-81, and Laynez' letter of January 5, 1549.

Jesuits from a Sicilian trireme at Palermo, the chief city of the island of Sicily. Besides the very serious work of reforming the monasteries and convents of the Island for Cardinal Farnese, he had also complete authority from Ignatius Loyola to survey the Jesuit activity of Sicily. A few members of the Society were already there, and the foundation of a Jesuit college was expected shortly. For these reasons Ignatius Loyola needed someone there whom he could trust absolutely and who could act in his place.

The full sympathy and cooperation of the Sicilian officials were obtained with hardly an effort on the part of the visiting Jesuit. John de Vega, an old friend of Ignatius Loyola and the present governor of the place, was at hand with his wife and family to greet him. On behalf of the Cardinal, he was welcomed by the inquisitor general, James of Cordova, who immediately made all arrangements for his comfort. In this way, *magna cum charitate*, a propitious beginning was made for a task that would consume the best part of a year and a half, until the midsummer of 1550.



## CHAPTER VII

### *In Peace and War*

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#### LOYOLA'S CONFIDENCE IN LAYNEZ

TO THE casual observer it may seem that Ignatius Loyola had completely arranged Laynez' work in Sicily and was using him merely as an extra pair of hands to carry out certain orders. In a special instruction of several pages written by the Jesuit General in December, 1549, the Visitor is given minute rules for his conduct toward the people, the members of the Society, and himself. He is told how to act at Palermo and Monreale, when and where he should meet John de Vega and Father Domenech. Certain Jesuit affairs had to be straightened out regarding colleges at Messina, Palermo, and Calatagirona. As for himself, Laynez should always use a horse, even when traveling the short three miles between Monreale and Palermo. He should look after his health, and be careful not to overwork.

But such instructions must not be misinterpreted as an indication that Loyola lacked confidence in his future successor. The General had a strict conscience when it came to designating plans and programs for his followers. His passion for detail and his desire for perfect apostolic activity led him into this habit. Certainly he was aware that Laynez could be depended upon to act wisely in every exigency, and this confidence is proved by a document he wrote on Christmas Eve, 1548.

Since the number of our followers is daily increasing everywhere through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, there increases also the necessity for providing many things and for sharing this burden of office with others. Upon your going to Sicily, it has seemed good in our Lord that we should

appoint as Visitor of the Jesuits there, you in whose piety and prudence we have the utmost confidence. Therefore we concede all our authority to you, as the Holy Father gave it to us, so that you can investigate, arrange, reform, command, prohibit, admit, and reject whomever you wish, appoint to any office or depose from it; and in brief arrange all things as we would if we were present.<sup>1</sup>

As a matter of fact, the powers thus conferred upon Laynez were used sparingly. He found no reason for displacing anyone who had been appointed to work in Sicily. The affairs of the Society were progressing most successfully, and the number of young men who applied for admission came to that satisfying peak where the Visitor could choose the very best of them. Jerome Domenech, confessor to the Governor and his family, became gravely ill and was sent by Laynez to Valencia for the sake of his physical well-being. When Ribadeneira and eight others came from Rome to open the College of Palermo in November, Laynez gave the official address.

#### SERIOUS ILLNESS

The Cardinal's affairs, however, required the most expert diplomacy and strength of will that the Spanish Jesuit could muster. There was a feud of many years duration between the monks on one side and the diocesan clergy on the other. The exact nature of this scandalous dispute is not known, except that it was in general connected with certain revenues. By making each side concede a little, Laynez was able to solve the problem and to restore at least a semblance of Christian amity. But it was a wearisome business, that had to be watched and guarded for a long time even after its apparent solution. It may have been the principal reason for the priest's physical collapse at the beginning of Lent, 1549.

He had decided to move in from Monreale and to live at Palermo during the Lenten season so that he could spend most of his time in the cathedral. On Ash Wednesday he ascended the pulpit, already a sick man. On the following day he was in an even worse condition but managed to put in a full day's work. That night he was wracked with pain and could not sleep until the early hours of the morning. On Friday morning he practically staggered through his Mass, then tried to

<sup>1</sup> Both the letter of instruction and the letter of appointment are given in the *Monumenta*, Vol. II of *Epistolae et instructiones*, pp. 274-80.

climb the steps of the pulpit. But John de Vega and several other men assisted him from the sanctuary, made him lie down, then carried him, delirious with fever, to the Governor's home.

Domenech took his place in the pulpit for a couple of weeks, and the doctors built up his weary body with good red meat and undisturbed rest. Laynez' distaste for idleness soon reasserted itself and, as Polanco remarks, "in a short time he returned to his preaching and to the eating of fish." But during his second sermon, preached on the feast of the Annunciation, he was suddenly seized with stomach pains, and had to take another vacation for several days. One tremendous benefit, however, came out of that sermon. He had asked his audience to contribute to the hospital for incurables, and they were so affected by the combination of his plea and his collapse that they almost poured money and supplies into the place. The Governor contributed a hundred gold pieces from the royal revenues, and fifty from his own funds. His wife donated ten, and then headed a committee for the alleviation of all hospitals, orphanages, prisons, houses of refuge, and needy convents.

By one stroke the eloquent Spaniard had been able thus to rouse the whole island into a public charitable movement. Whether he used his sudden illness as an added device to persuade his audience is questionable. Certainly he was far removed from any deception. His sickness was no theatrical gesture, but he was too great and experienced a preacher not to realize that it could be put to good purpose.

#### PROBLEM OF PROSTITUTION

Poverty was not the only social problem present in Sicily in the middle of the sixteenth century. The women of the streets constituted another difficulty, just as they have done in other periods of history and in practically every large city in the world. The Governor hit upon a solution when he ordered all prostitutes and public sinners to be present for Laynez' sermons on Mary Magdalen. The preacher could draw a powerful picture of the life of sin and an even more compelling picture of the Master's loving forgiveness. Soon he had his audience in tears, and after the sermon many of them received the sacrament of penance.

Everyone knows, however, that the largest part of the problem arises after conversion, for in these cases special provisions must be

made for the support of unfortunate women. We do not know how many were converted. Polanco says that Eleanor de Vega took care of sixteen, some of whom she kept in her home and for others she supplied dowries so that they could be married. Toward the end of Lent nine converted women were temporarily received at a convent in the city, a place which Laynez had already imbued with a new religious zeal. Seven of these were moved by the charity and penitential practices of the nuns to beg for admission into the religious life; the two others eventually left to be married.<sup>2</sup>

In all these works of reform Laynez enjoyed the competent assistance of a Belgian lay brother, who is known to history only as Brother Julian. He took upon his shoulders most of the actual distribution of alms for the Viceroy and the Jesuit Superior, and at the same time made a favorite work of visiting the prisons. When the Jesuit priests found it impossible to hear confessions and distribute Communion to the prisoners, he would walk miles in search of other priests. From one monastery to another he would go, persuading the priests to come with him to the jails. Many of the prisoners had committed sins reserved to the jurisdiction of certain priests who had special faculties for absolving them. It was the custom then to pay a fee in such cases, and Brother Julian would gather alms for this express purpose for prisoners unable to pay. Within a few months more than three hundred confessions were heard through his ardent instrumentality.

After Lent, Laynez returned again to live at Monreale, coming in to Palermo only on Sundays and feast days for special sermons and conferences. It was at this time that he took up in earnest the reformation of the diocese as ordered by Cardinal Farnese, and fully settled the scandalous dispute that had been going on between the friars of the archiepiscopal monastery and the secular clergy. Cardinal Bernard Maffei remarked that the Jesuit had accomplished more in a few days toward settling the dispute than others had been able to do over a period of four years.

#### THE ABBESS OF ST. CASTRA

In searching about the diocese Laynez came upon another case which could have been lifted directly from the pages of the most lurid

<sup>2</sup> The account of these conversions was sent to all the houses of the Society in the historical letters for 1549.



medieval novel. At the convent of St. Castra he found an abbess whom he described to Cardinal Farnese as "dishonest, proud, and tyrannical with her subjects, widely hated and of bad reputation, so that as long as she is there the convent will have no peace." The dissolute conduct of the nuns was traced directly to this strong-willed woman, who was of a noble Palermo family. No one would dare oust her from her position for fear that her family would defend her by force of arms with the possibility of resultant bloodshed and assassinations.

The Spanish Jesuit was at his persuasive best when he approached the convent with a special document from Cardinal Farnese obtained through the insistence of the Viceroy's wife. He used tact rather than authority in pointing out to the abbess her need of more peaceful surroundings and the need of her nuns for a higher way of life. Surprisingly enough, she yielded to his advice, and agreed to retire from the active administration of the convent. That was in the beginning of May, 1549. One month later, she changed her mind with what Laynez called "feminine and demoniacal inconstancy," and decided that she would return to her post.

There was nothing to it but to start all over, and this time he did so from a new approach. He sent the Cardinal a précis of the new turn of events and, while awaiting an answer, interviewed privately all the nuns of the convent. Most of them were essentially good and simple women and they had received the Eucharist from the hands of Laynez on Pentecost, the first time in eleven years that they thus celebrated that great feast day. They began to practice religious silence, observed the rule of cloister, attended divine office regularly, confessed and communicated once a month, and, for the first time since the foundation of the convent, lived as nuns are supposed to live. It was an easy task for Laynez to show these women that their abbess brought nothing but disorder and disrepute to the convent, and he aroused their opposition to such extent that the lady was forced to retire again. However, the affair dragged out through the summer and following winter, and it was not till the middle of 1550 that Laynez could canonically install a new abbess at the convent of St. Castra.

The permanent character of at least one of the charitable enterprises instituted by Laynez is shown in the formation of a kind of sodality for matrons. It was the idea of the Viceroy's wife that the wealthy women of Palermo should pledge a monthly stipend for the

support of the Jesuits' social work. She asked Laynez to propose this scheme to them at the sodality's second meeting in June, 1549, and to give them at least an hour's talk on spiritual motives for their charity. As long as he remained in Palermo he gave this monthly conference with the practical result that no one of the poor and sick was left uncared for. The munificence of the members was spiritually motivated, for they confessed and received Communion once a month, which the Jesuit calls a *cosa nueva en esta tierra*.

#### COLLEGE AT PALERMO

Along educational lines the new Society of Jesus was now about to demonstrate its learning to the people of Palermo. In the previous year, the great Nadal, who is rightly termed "the schoolmaster of Europe," had established a college at Messina, arranged its subjects and classes along the more or less original lines that would some day grow into the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum*. Instantaneous success crowned the institution, and its fame spread quickly to the neighboring city of Palermo. As early as the spring of 1549 the Viceroy and his advisers were pressing Laynez to open a similar college in the town as soon as possible. Domenech told Ignatius that Eleanor de Osorio, the Viceroy's wife, had requested the same thing of him, pointing out that the general ignorance of the clergy would be in some part outweighed by an up-to-date seat of learning.

Men and money were needed for an enterprise of this size, and Laynez bluntly told the leading citizens that the Society could not move in the desired direction without their financial assistance. They promised not only to endow the college but also to pay the expenses of the journey and the upkeep of the men who would come from Rome and other places. Unlike many similar promises this one was fulfilled with an immediate subsidy large enough to cover all requirements.

At the beginning of September, Father Domenech happened to be in the vicinity of the port of Palermo, where he heard the unaccustomed sound of a tremendous ovation, of shouting and applause. It was the city's welcome for the group of Jesuits just arriving at the docks in a crowded trireme. At their head was Nicholas Lanoy, appointed rector of the College, and Paul Achilles; both were doctors of theology of the University of Paris. The nine men in the group represented a cross section of all the nations of Europe, "who maintained

among themselves," notes Astrain, "the most affectionate and admirable charity even though they were very different in ability, language, and character."

Layneze lodged the newly arrived Jesuits at Monreale, where the summer climate was much healthier than in Palermo, and then busied himself with further preparations for the opening of the school. In October he went with John de Vega to inspect the college of Messina, observed exactly the order of lectures and the matter taught, and then patterned upon it the course of studies at the new college. Finally everything was in readiness for the opening of the school at the end of November.

On Saturday, November 23, 1549, the Viceroy ordered the town crier through the streets of the city to announce the opening of the Jesuit college and to post placards at convenient street-corners. The following morning Laynez gave a long address to a large audience, explaining in general the work of the new institution, and in the afternoon Lanoy and Ribadeneira explained in particular the subjects which they themselves were going to teach. The two men were a contrast. Lanoy, professor of theology, talked with becoming gravity and modesty, while Ribadeneira, professor of rhetoric, demonstrated his profession with an effusive and elegant speech. On Monday, the feast of St. Catherine, Achilles delivered his own solemn oration, and on the following day all the students assembled to begin actual class work.

It is interesting to note that the lectures in theology, given by Father Lanoy, were the most popular of all and drew many adult listeners who had long since passed the age of formal schooling. With the approval of Laynez, this course treated the Sentences of Peter Lombard and not, as we would naturally expect, the *Summa* of St. Thomas. The great theologian of the Council of Trent does not seem to have been a close follower of Thomistic theology. He quoted Augustine and the Fathers with a great deal of familiarity and in his own works never imitated the formalized theses of St. Thomas. Lanoy also followed the prevalent system of teaching theology in the form of a commentary on Peter Lombard and did not employ the *Summa* until later.

Layneze, of course, could not be tied down to the work of the lecture hall, but he arranged that the others should teach every morning from nine to noon, and every evening from three to six. Achilles taught



dialectics; Ribadeneira used Cicero's *Ad Herennium* as a text in rhetoric; John Roger taught Horace and Cicero's letters *Ad Quintum Fratrem*. Michael Botell, Juvenal Boter, Peter Venustus, and the others taught the lower classes in grammar. From the very beginning the enrollment of students was very satisfying to the Jesuit Superior. Laynez told Ignatius that they started the College with more than 150 students, and less than a month later Lanoy reported that 300 were formally enrolled, not counting the many adults who came only for the lectures in theology. In the spring of 1550, when Ignatius obtained a papal bull approving the collegiate foundation at Palermo, this number had increased to 380.

As his personal contribution to the moral and intellectual progress of the college students, Laynez gave a special lecture every Friday after dinner. To hear him before a young audience, entertaining, encouraging, instructing them in a vivacious manner that only he could achieve, was a treat that could be envied by every college student in Europe. The man breathed forth personality, and they were willing to do anything he asked. Their improved spiritual life appeared when they accepted his suggestion to receive Communion twice a month, to confess often, and to have regular conversations with a spiritual director. Many of them later entered the novitiate of the Society founded in Sicily.

#### WORKS OF CHARITY

The early part of 1550 was occupied with numerous works of public mercy performed by Laynez and the others. He and Brother Julian worked out a plan of relief for the debtors' prison, collected money to pay the prisoners' debts whenever this was possible. The police authorities would not allow them to move sick prisoners to the hospital for fear of their escape, so that the efficient lay brother built little shacks in which to segregate the sick from the healthy. In the middle of this work Julian caught a fatal disease from the patients, and his death caused a new wave of interest in caring for the unfortunates. Laynez capitalized upon this interest to build and furnish a separate hospital for prisoners and to collect a fund for its support.

As though his official work as Jesuit Visitor and episcopal representative were not sufficient for his energies, Laynez engaged in two other works of social betterment at this time. One was a special citi-



zens' committee whose exclusive work was the maintenance of orphanages. They had a constitution, regularly elected officials, and a membership of about five hundred men. The other was an attempt to help the men who had been condemned to row the Sicilian ships. He got better physical conditions for them, but made his best progress with their souls. Some of them had not received the sacrament of penance for ten, fifteen, or twenty years; others, although baptized Catholics, had never confessed their sins.

## DUCHESS ELEANOR

During the Lent of 1550 Father Laynez' sermons were again interrupted by what he was pleased to call a slight bodily "indisposition," but which was really another brief but serious attack of fever. After gaining sufficient strength to continue in the pulpit, he was interrupted still another time by the fatal illness of Eleanor de Osorio. The Viceroy asked both Laynez and Domenech to remain with her during the last few days and to assist her in dying. They willingly obliged him in this request, not only because of his high position but also because of the intimate friendliness he had shown to them, Ignatius Loyola, and the whole Society.

Doña Eleanor suffered severely and patiently. She was consoled by the last sacraments of the Church, administered by the hands of Laynez, and on Palm Sunday "it pleased the divine goodness to transfer her to a better life." In Sicily and at Rome the Jesuits offered the regular suffrage Masses of the Society for the repose of her soul. During Holy Week and on Easter Sunday, Laynez preached in the monastery church of St. Dominic. The Viceroy, his three sons (Ferdinand, Alvarus, and Suerus), and daughter Elizabeth, stayed at the monastery for the Holy Week services, and spent all their spare time with Laynez talking of spiritual things and arranging to carry out the last testament of the deceased lady.

On the Wednesday after Easter the eloquent Jesuit surpassed himself in a public funeral oration. "He spoke so fervently," chronicles Polanco, "about death in general, about this death in particular, and about the necessity of being always prepared to die, that his audience was moved to weeping. The Viceroy asked him to repeat the oration for himself and his daughter." When all these services had been rendered by Laynez, it appears that John de Vega was even more solicitous

for the welfare of the Jesuits. He left nothing undone to show his appreciation, obtaining for them every possible favor throughout Sicily, and sending special recommendations in their honor to Charles V, for whom he was governing the island.

#### PALERMO'S FALLEN WOMEN

In May of 1550 there came to a climax the problem of Palermo's reformed women, solved in a typical manner by the Spanish Jesuit. By a public edict of long standing, it had been proclaimed that prostitutes, both before and after their conversion, were prohibited from wearing the mantilla so that they could be distinguished from women of honest repute. Laynez wanted the law revoked but found that custom of many years was impossible to change. The women were ashamed to appear in public, and many others who simply could not afford to buy a head covering, refused to go to church and receive the sacraments. To overcome this difficulty the Jesuit first gathered a fund of money to provide everything necessary for women who needed financial help, and then arranged with De Vega for a new promulgation. This was to the effect that anyone who wanted permission to wear a mantilla should come to hear a sermon preached by him at a certain church on the first Saturday of each month. Seventy women attended the first sermon. Their names were marked down by a committee composed of Laynez, Domenech, the parish priest, a notary, and four matrons; and during the following month they were provided with the necessities of life. After Laynez' departure from Palermo the monthly sermon was delivered by other Jesuits. But the unfortunate prostitutes were distinguishable still from honest women, even though they were permitted to wear mantillas.<sup>3</sup>

#### MILITARY CHAPLAIN

For some time now John de Vega had been hearing of the depredations of the African pirate Dragut, and had determined to clear the eastern Mediterranean of this menace. Quietly he gathered a fleet of ships, fitted out an expedition against Tripoli, the corsairs' stronghold, and when all was in readiness he asked Laynez to go along as

<sup>3</sup> Most of the activities of Laynez during the first half of 1550 are recounted in his own letters sent to Cardinal Farnese and Ignatius Loyola between April and June. Cf. I, 148-63 of the *Monumenta Lainii*, and the *Chronicon*, II, 36 ff.

chaplain to the soldiers and sailors. The Jesuit was realistically aware of the fact that many of these professional fighters needed a spiritual renovation more than anything else, and he gladly welcomed the chance to help them.

The year 1550 was the Jubilee year at Rome, and anyone who made the pilgrimage to the Eternal City was granted special indulgences. Laynez thought he could obtain this same privilege for all the armed forces since they were, in a sense, fighting as Christian against infidel. De Vega asked Ignatius to request the Pope for it in his name, so that all who could not come to Rome could receive the Jubilee graces and indulgences. Paul III willingly granted the favor, and Laynez, already in Africa, received the document signed and sealed with both papal and Jesuit seals.

The commander-in-chief of all the forces was John de Vega himself, and in his own pretorian vessel he took Laynez and another Jesuit, Martin Zornoza. The ships and soldiers which had gathered at Palermo left that port on June 21, 1550, and, on the morning of the feast of St. John, arrived at the deserted island of Fanagnana, the place of rendezvous with other imperial ships of war. Here Laynez gave an extempore address to the whole expedition, arousing them to the zealous performance of their military duties and explaining the qualities of an efficient soldier. Laynez records the following:

We left there and, with the help of our Lord, made good time, arriving within sight of the African shore on the evening of June 27. On the morning of the 28th the army disembarked orderly, energetically, and quickly, encountering no opposition. Then they built a temporary hospital in which we performed the work of the Lord. Regarding temporal matters, I took the responsibility of asking the commander and the quartermasters for money and other necessities for the sick, and Martin took care of the purchases. Then for a long time I mixed the herbs, medicines, and ointments and also personally fed all the sick, of whom there were between 50 and 240 at various times.<sup>4</sup>

Immediately upon arrival the imperial forces drove the pirates into their walled city of Aphrodisium, on the African coast directly opposite Sicily. They made several unsuccessful assaults and then settled down to a long and weary siege. The number of sick and

<sup>4</sup> He wrote these things from Africa in the following October, giving Ignatius a running commentary on the summer's activities.

wounded increased so that the Jesuits could no longer keep up with their care. Garcia de Toledo, John de Vega, and his son Alvarus consulted with Laynez sending approximately 200 of the worst cases back home. Before these men sailed, the Jesuit visited each one, heard the confessions of some who had been away from the sacraments for twenty years, and also absolved several apostate monks turned soldiers. In all the expedition, says Laynez, he does not think that as many as three men died without confession.

The arrival of the papal document conferring the Jubilee indulgences was heralded throughout the camp with war-trumpets and horns, and everyone was so anxious to gain this privilege that Laynez on some nights heard confessions for six hours. The announcement was made on the feast of St. Bartholomew, August 24, and the priest, at the invitation of the Viceroy, gave an explanatory sermon and exhortation to the whole camp on the subject of the Jubilee. From that day until the feast of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, September 10, when the final assault against the pirate stronghold took place, he heard the confessions not only of *caballeros* and *capitanes* but also of the ordinary foot soldiers, Sicilians, Neapolitans, Lombards, Piedmontese, and mercenaries from other provinces and countries.

De Vega had made adequate military preparations in surrounding Dragut and his buccaneers, and he had the enemy at a further disadvantage of trying to fight after being besieged for more than two months. The battle was short and swift, and all resistance in Tripoli was crushed by invading forces, so that on Sunday, September 14, Laynez could convert the principal Mohammedan mosque into a church under the patronage of St. John the Baptist. On that day he sang a solemn high Mass in the former Saracen place of worship, baptized four infants and a wounded Moslem, and preached a sermon to the congregation of conquerors. Subsequently he baptized ten or twelve infidel children, instructed numerous adults, and reconverted many renegade Catholics, both men and women, some of whom had been living as captive slaves of the pirates.

Layneze's work was now over and he prepared to return with the armies at the end of the month. A small garrison was left to maintain order along the coast. The others embarked on September 25, and for three days could make no headway against contrary winds. They were then struck by the worst storm in thirty years, and in trying to put



back to land lost two ships, while two others and numerous galleys ran aground. On October 5, Laynez was still in Africa waiting for the ships to be repaired and writing his quarterly account to Ignatius Loyola. In less than a week, however, he was again in Sicily clearing up his affairs before departing for Rome.

## CHAPTER VIII

### *At Trent Again*

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WHILE James Laynez was away in the south of Italy many important events were occurring at Rome. His good friend, Pope Paul III, had died on November 10, 1549. The Jesuits at Rome watched with interest, and perhaps with some alarm while the Church remained for approximately three months without a pontiff. In December the conclave of cardinals came within one vote of electing Reginald Pole, then seemed to favor a succession of other candidates until the surprise election of Cardinal Del Monte on February 8, 1550.

#### LAYNEZ IN ROME

The new Pope took the name of Julius III, and at his earliest opportunity graciously accepted the submission of Ignatius Loyola and the Society of Jesus. At the end of March, Loyola could already write to inform Laynez that His Holiness wished him to come back to Rome at the end of the summer and to hold himself in readiness for the reopening of the Council of Trent. In July, Ignatius received the approbation of the Pope for the Jesuit Constitutions upon which he had been working for three years. He then called to Rome as many of the first companions and professed fathers as were near the city for their criticisms of the Constitutions. Rodriguez in Portugal, Bobadilla in Calabria, Broet in Bologna, Le Jay and Salmeron in Germany, could not leave their work for the journey, and sent their opinions in writing.

Loyola's letter summoning Laynez to Rome is dated September 27, 1550, but it was impossible for him to arrive before November 22.

He, as well as the others then in Rome, agreed that the Constitutions should remain substantially as Ignatius had written them. The General had been ill for some time and, thinking that his work was now accomplished, begged them to accept his resignation. But they unanimously stated that even a sick Loyola would be a much better superior than anyone else in the most robust health.

As soon as he returned to the city, Laynez carried out the commission given him by John de Vega. In the name of the Viceroy, of his adjutants and captains, and of the whole army, he thanked Julius III for the privilege of the Jubilee extended to them in Africa. He asked also that the Pope create vicariates in Africa and Goleta and to send bishops if possible to supervise the numerous Christian military establishments. De Vega was greatly pleased with the Jesuit's promptness in carrying out these requests.<sup>1</sup>

During the weeks before Christmas, 1550, Laynez preached on Sundays and feast days in the Jesuit Church at Rome. Polanco told Father Adriani that he spoke with wonderful learning and to great applause. Throughout the first month of the new year he continued to teach and preach in public and to assist Ignatius Loyola in the domestic affairs of the Society. Among these affairs there was the matter of the Jesuit Constitutions, especially the Fourth Part, concerning education.

#### THE WORK OF EDUCATION

In the early years of the Society it was Laynez who pointed out to Ignatius the fact that other religious orders had educated not only their own members, but also, as in the case of the Brethren of the Common Life, the sons of outsiders. The need for instruction in Christian doctrine was so apparent at that time that every Jesuit priest, no matter how learned, accomplished, or important he was, had to teach young boys for a period of forty days. Besides that, the new order needed some source of support in educational work, needed freedom also from financial entanglements, and Laynez determined that a fully endowed college was the only kind of educational institution the Jesuits would manage.

<sup>1</sup> He thanked Laynez in two letters sent in early January, 1551. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 173-75. From October, 1550, to the middle of March, 1551, Laynez provides no personal account of his own activities. The *Chronicon* fills in the lacuna.

As in every other human endeavor, the theory of complete endowments was better than the practice. Rectors of colleges were so eager to extend educational advantages to as many as possible that they frequently found themselves in the throes of debt. Then Loyola, Laynez, or Nadal, had to carry the burden of further worry until affairs could be righted. After becoming general of the Society, Laynez wrote a short and precise *formula*, stipulating that no college should be founded unless its endowment were a "pure and free donation offered to God, our Lord, *absque conditione vel modo*." The Society of Jesus would incur no new obligations except to supply the necessary administrators, teachers, and lay brothers.<sup>2</sup>

Several times during the writing of the Constitutions, says Ribadeneira (probably at the end of 1550), Laynez was asked by Loyola whether he thought that God directly revealed to the founders of religious orders the things they incorporated in their Constitutions. Laynez answered that there are certain distinguishing factors without which each order would not be the type God wishes it to be. God takes care of these factors; the rest He leaves to the good judgment and prudence of men. Ignatius agreed that this seemed to be the way religious orders were given their constitutions.<sup>3</sup>

While waiting for the conciliar convocation, Laynez again received the papal command to work at Florence. The Duchess of Tuscany had renewed the request for his services when Julius III ascended the chair of Peter, and she was as doggedly persistent with the new Pope as she had been with Paul III. At first blush it would seem that Laynez and Loyola almost made it a policy to keep the good lady waiting about a year each time she asked. They recognized, of course, the need of religious reformation in Tuscany and would have complied sooner, but demands for spiritual assistance came from all over Europe, and they tried to satisfy the most pressing needs first.

<sup>2</sup> *Monumenta paedagogica*, pp. 49 ff. Several other documents concerning the early Jesuit plans for educational work, and antedating the one mentioned above, are given in this volume, pp. 21-48. Laynez had a hand in drafting all of them.

<sup>3</sup> It must not be thought, however, that the Jesuit Constitutions had any human author besides Ignatius Loyola. Laynez' part was at best an advisory one, for Loyola recognized him as the most astutely intellectual man among his companions, but at the same time he submitted the Constitutions to all of them for corrections and approval. Cf. *supra*, p. 43 concerning the theory that Laynez was the real founder and organizer of the Society. Cf. also the Prologue to the *Constitutiones (Textus Hispanicus)*, II, cxlviii, clxv, ccxxv. This edition of the Jesuit Constitutions was published at Rome in 1936, and is the fruit of long research and editorial criticism.



## FRANCIS BORGIA

On February 4, 1551, Laynez left Rome for Pisa, where the Duke and Duchess of Tuscany were then living. He did not go alone; in fact he was merely a part of the ducal entourage of Francis Borgia, duke of Gandia, great-grandson of Pope Alexander VI on his father's side of the family, and of King Ferdinand of Spain on his mother's. Favre had put into his head the idea of becoming a Jesuit after the death of his wife. He came to Rome in 1550 for the Jubilee celebrations and to scrutinize at close range the life of this new religious order. Loyola practically turned over the Jesuit house to him and his retinue, and the Duke showed his appreciation and humility by sometimes serving meals with his own hands.

Pisa was merely a stopping-place on the way home. Borgia was able to make the journey from Spain to Rome, and return, in complete confidence that his secret would not be learned. Very few men, even among the Jesuits, were aware of the fact that the Duke had been a member of the Society of Jesus since 1546. He had pronounced the Jesuit vows in Spain on June 2 of that year, had been officially admitted by Favre, and allowed by Ignatius Loyola to conduct his usual secular affairs. For more than four years he lived in this way, gradually separating himself from the duties of his important position, and making provisions for the welfare of his eight children. James Laynez now had his own share in preserving the Duke's secret, and in instructing him regarding the internal, spiritual life of the Jesuits.

Borgia's son and a number of the principal Aragonese nobles were in the group returning to Spain. He was himself destined to be the third General of the Society of Jesus, successor to the vivacious Jesuit who was now traveling with him, and who could discourse more eloquently than anyone else on the work and prospects of the Order. Speaking later of this journey, Laynez humbly says: "If I were not so lazy, I would have made progress and helped others also to make progress." He attributes whatever success he had at this time to the group of Jesuits who were also traveling to Pisa to found a college there and who "assisted these nobles and this land with their Masses and prayers." <sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For this and the following account of Laynez' work at Pisa, see his letter to Ignatius on April 30, 1551; also Polanco, II, 174 ff. It seems that Laynez had been appointed to start a college in Gandia about five years before, a task which he never undertook. The

Lent had already begun when the party arrived at the palatial estates in Pisa, and the external ceremonies of entertaining such prominent guests had to be forfeited. Borgia received a rousing welcome, fitted to his talents and position, and the reception of Laynez was no less cordial for having been delayed more than a year. The Duchess immediately found quarters for him at the Benedictine monastery of St. Michael, and had already arranged for him to preach and teach in the adjoining church. All the principal pulpits in Pisa had been scheduled for other prominent preachers long before Lent started, but the main attraction was Laynez, who drew larger crowds than the others.

#### LAYNEZ' SERMONS IN PISA

Archbishop Anthony Altovita arranged for Laynez to give instructions in four of the monasteries under his jurisdiction as soon as he learned that the Jesuit had arrived. The standard of religious life had practically vanished from these monasteries. Costly clothing and rich furnishings made a mockery of the profession of religious poverty, and the worst offenders were in a certain convent where the nuns were mostly daughters of noble and prominent Tuscan families. Each of them ordered her own special food for dinner as though she were queening it over some noble household, and neither the Archbishop nor the confessors of the convent could change this practice. Laynez' exhortations moved them so completely that, as he says, "by the grace of God they returned to the observance of the common life not only in this matter but in all other things pertaining to the rule."

After Easter the energetic Jesuit went out in search of souls among the poorly instructed masses of the city, preaching to them on the very foundation of all morality, the Ten Commandments. Some he discovered who had not made their Easter duty, others who had been away from the sacraments for years. At the same time he distributed alms in money and clothing to the most needy, asking them individually to recite the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed for him. More than a hundred of these baptized Catholics did not even know the words of the Our Father, and some of the old people recited it in

only record of this appointment is in a letter to Favre on September 15, 1545, in which Borgia remarks that he is looking forward to the arrival of both Laynez and Araoz to start the work. Cf. *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia*, III, 9.

what they called the Pisan version. It was a garbled, badly pronounced singsong in the local dialect, which omitted the petition, "forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us." Laynez told them that they must include this part of the prayer, but they answered: "That may be the way the Spaniards say it, but it is not the Our Father for us." The Jesuit gave the old people some alms, and left them to their ignorance.

## COLLEGE AT PISA

During these several months the business of starting the Jesuit college at Pisa was being unbearably protracted. The Duchess, Eleanor of Toledo, seemed anxious to do whatever Laynez thought necessary to get the school started, but the Duke himself, Cosmo de Medici, though an honest character, was something of a sportsman, more concerned about hunting and fishing than about the school. The place he had offered was not, according to Laynez' mind, fitted for the purpose. It was outside the city, inconvenient to reach, and unhealthy; and the Jesuit was not a man to plunge into a situation so unfavorable.

Laynez saw that the Duke was not too anxious to fulfill his promises about the school. After bringing up the subject several times with no success, Laynez thought of abandoning the whole project. But Ignatius was insistent that he should have a serious talk with the Duke, explaining the great esteem that would come to him, the spiritual and intellectual profit that would accrue to the city, that it would be even better if the Duke would give them a place at Florence instead of at Pisa. The Duke, who was at best a bit hesitant, said he understood these things perfectly but should like to have Laynez write them all down so that he could study them in private.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile the Duchess, embarrassed by her husband's attitude and feeling responsible for it all since she was the one who had been wailing for Jesuit help during the years, offered a yearly subsidy of a hundred gold pieces for a college either at Pisa or at Florence.

The Spanish Jesuit had a hard time keeping his patience while the

<sup>5</sup> The explanation then written by Laynez has been preserved, and is dated at the beginning of June, 1551. Including the kind of argument best fitted for the Duke's temperament, it mentions the names of men who have helped the Society and the things they did: the Supreme Pontiff, the Emperor, the King of Portugal, King Ferdinand I of Rome, many cardinals, bishops, princes, dukes and others. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 183-87.

Duke continued to procrastinate. He buried himself in the work of the St. Paul's hospital, to which he had moved after Easter, and was especially busy in hearing confessions. Every day during the octave following the feast of St. John the Baptist, he gave some short, simple sermons to the poor and neglected people of the slum district. Apparently he was trying to make a record in this type of work in the short time remaining before he would depart again for the Council of Trent. He remarks, too, that in the few moments he could snatch from external activities he read the works of the Fathers and commentaries on the Scriptures.

Finally, in the first week of July, 1551, he reached a kind of agreement, about which he does not seem to have been very enthusiastic. The College of Pisa would be started as soon as the Duke contributed two hundred gold pieces, and the Duchess would supply between fifty and a hundred, and at the same time pay for food, wine, and maintenance of twelve Jesuits. Laynez suggested that Father Elpidius Ugoletti should come to Pisa to make all preparations. But the Duchess wanted an Apostolic Letter from Julius III commanding that, when the College had been founded, Laynez would not be permitted to leave it without the permission of her husband or herself.

It was a hard bargain, and Laynez could not help accepting it, undoubtedly realizing in his own mind that Loyola would never assent to such an arrangement, nor the Pope give such a command. As a matter of fact, the arrangement was never ratified at Rome, and when Father Ugoletti arrived in the following October he found that the Duchess would do nothing without Laynez. This clearly indicated, says Polanco, "that she was persuaded to found the college only in the expectation of having Father Laynez under her authority, and so, when the affair fell through, Father Elpidius went to Padua."

#### AT THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

After leaving Pisa and before going back to Trent, Laynez stopped to visit the Jesuit colleges at Bologna, Ferrara, Venice, and Padua, attended some of the lectures, talked to some of the professors and all those in authority and found things moving more or less smoothly. He picked up Salmeron along the way and, after refusing an offer of his lodging and expenses because he was a papal appointee, arrived



at the Council on July 27, 1551, almost three months after it had reopened.

Again, as at the first opening of the Council, there were a great many objections and obstacles. Emperor Charles V was getting on in years and showed no opposition, but the bishops from his German territories found it almost impossible to attend because of the religious troubles there. King Henry II of France effectively prevented the French bishops from attending, and his hostility was a puerile display against Julius III, who had not been his candidate for the papal office. Just a week before Laynez' arrival, the King had been warned by the Pope that he would have to answer before the judgment seat of God for his actions. Henry replied that he was quite willing to do so, "since I am sure that I shall not meet Your Holiness there."

Because of the small numbers attending, practically no theological business had been transacted up to that time; and some of the fathers despaired of ever getting down to discussions and definitions. Laynez and Salmeron seemed to inspire them with a new hope, for several remarked that with the coming of the Jesuits they now believed that the Council would really get started. Cardinal Crescenzi, the new president of the Council, welcomed them affectionately and turned them over to Angelo Massarelli, who was too busy keeping his diary to pay much attention to them. The quarters assigned to them were hardly usable even by men sincerely devoted to the practice of evangelical poverty.

Two weeks later Laynez wrote to Ignatius, telling him of the way the conciliar secretary treated the three Jesuits, that is, Laynez, Salmeron, and the lay brother John.

He took us to his own home and said that, since we had not found an inn, we could stay here this one night. He gave us all a small, stuffy oven of a room, with a couch and a trundle bed in it, which did not leave us space to take two steps. There was no table at which we could study or write a letter; and only one footstool for a chair. . . . I said to Salmeron: "This is much worse than we bargained for; let us go to an inn, and tomorrow on my way to the palace I will tell him that, as long as he said we would be here only one night, we decided to leave for an inn." But Salmeron said we ought not show ourselves dissatisfied with the room, and had bet-

ter stay in this hot oven. So that night he slept on a chest, and John and I on the beds. After that he went to the nearby quarters of the Bishop of Verona to sleep, and, though I was offered the same hospitality, I decided that John and I should sleep in the oven. One day the Legate's secretary [Anthony Fioribello] looked in to see whether we needed anything. "You can see for yourself," I said, "we need everything." He said that was true but for the moment what did we need most? I answered, "At least we need a candle to go to bed by." "And what else?" asked he. And I said jokingly, "A candlestick to put it in." But the storekeeper was not around and we could not get a candle that night, but we were the gainers, for we got a torch to go to bed by.<sup>6</sup>

At least the Jesuits kept their good humor in these petty and inconsiderate events. During the first week Laynez went to pay his respects to all the new delegates and to renew old acquaintances among the bishops and priests. Finally he went to Cardinal Crescenzi to beg a decent room because everybody asked him where he lived and wished to visit him for conferences. There was a housing shortage in the city and the Cardinal sent the Jesuits around to a new building that still lacked doors and windows. The owner asked them for ten ducats, which they did not have and which Massarelli would not give them. Then Laynez flashed back with one of his rare displays of temper, telling the secretary in no uncertain terms that a Jesuit had to live and to pay for necessities just as anyone else, that the Pope sent him here because he knew he worked as hard as anyone. Warming up to his subject, he continued: "You have done a thing that has no sense to it; putting two priests, sent by the Pope, into those terrible servants' quarters, and I am surprised at you. Since you are not spending your own money, why do you not spend it according to the Pope's orders and not keep us all this time in that hole? Salmeron had to sleep on a chest the first night, and refused to sleep there again; and I would have done the same except that I did not want to show your shortcomings. But I promise you I will inform the Cardinal and also write to Rome about this."

That night at the dinner table of the Cardinal and in the presence of Massarelli, Laynez tried to pass the whole thing off as a joke, and everyone concerned took it in good part. "In this way," later re-

<sup>6</sup> Laynez describes these interesting details in his letter from Trent sent to Loyola on August 11, 1551. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 192-96.

marked Laynez, "we remain good friends and I at least had the satisfaction of telling him what was on my mind." To settle the matter to everyone's satisfaction the Jesuits accepted some alms and food as a weekly stipend and arranged to live at the same place where they had lodged during their previous attendance at the Council.

In preparation for the feast of the Assumption, Laynez and Salmeron spent a great deal of time in the hospitals, prisons, and poor sections of the city, hearing confessions, giving instructions, and bringing Communion to the sick. In these ministrations Laynez could not work as fully as he wished. The scorching days and freezing nights he had spent in the army camps in Africa left him permanently susceptible to the quartan ague, *la mia quartana*, as he called it. During August he was in bed with fever four days of each week, but in the remaining days he must have done heroic work, for Salmeron remarked that he labored strenuously and not at all like an invalid.<sup>7</sup>

#### ESTEEM FOR LAYNEZ AND SALMERON

Gradually the empty seats at the Council were filled, and the discussions on the Holy Eucharist could take place. It was decided by the fathers assembled that Laynez and Salmeron, as the officially appointed theologians of the Pope, were to speak first. After them would come the Emperor's theologians, then the secular priests according to their rank as doctors of theology or law, and finally the members of religious orders according to the antiquity of their orders. Thus, the youngest order in the Church, represented by the two ablest theologians of the time, took precedence over all the others. Indeed, the learned Dominican Foscarari, later bishop of Modena, attested to their great abilities, saying that "Masters Laynez and Salmeron discoursed most brilliantly against the Lutherans on the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist. I consider myself fortunate to be living at a time when two such holy and learned men flourish in the Church."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Salmeron wrote to Rome several times in the following autumn and winter. Some of the letters published in the *Epistolae Salmeronis* were sent jointly by him and Laynez. Cf. I, 92 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Epistolae Salmeronis*, I, 591. Polanco also quotes this in his *Chronicon*, II, 251. Laynez intervened for the defense of Aegidius Foscarari in 1558, when the latter was jailed at Rome on a trumped-up charge of heresy. The Bishop had good company in prison, however, in the persons of Cardinal John Morone and Cardinal Reginald Pole and Bishop John Sanfelice, all of whom were confined to the prison of Sanangelo on the same charges. Cf. *Epistolae Salmeronis*, I, 235.

A similar testimony of their abilities came spontaneously from Peter Canisius, who was himself a great saint, scholar, and theologian. "It is astonishing to see how successful is the work of Fathers Laynez and Alphonsus," he wrote to Leonard Kessel. "They stand in the front rank of all the theologians because they have been especially sent by the Pope. There can be no doubt at all that their deep learning, to which I can personally testify, is bringing real satisfaction to everybody, and is earning the respect of all."<sup>9</sup>

#### DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARIST

On September 2, the theologians had been given a list of ten errors to refute, the first of which was Zwingli's proposition, that the Eucharist is not really the body, blood, and divinity of Christ, but only a sign of them. For several days Laynez and Salmeron led the discussion concerning this heretical statement among the theologians. There was no dissension about the true doctrine, but the terminology required agreement. On September 7, Laynez was sick in bed all day with a racking fever. On the next day, the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady, he rose to give his famous speech on the Eucharist, which unfortunately has not been preserved except in Massarelli's descriptive form.

Laynez argued from the Scriptures, both Old and New Testament, and, in refuting the heretical teaching, made an important point in insisting that the words, "This is my body," must be taken in their literal meaning and not in any figurative sense. If Christ did not mean what he said, he would have offered men an occasion of committing idolatry in adoring mere bread and wine. The Jesuit then paraded a long list of authorities in favor of his argument, the councils of Ephesus, Lateran, and Florence, the works of Irenaeus, Cyprian, Tertullian, Ignatius, Jerome, and many others. To these he added several long proofs of a purely philosophical nature. Finally, bringing up the objections of the heretics one by one, he demolished them beyond repair.<sup>10</sup>

It is often remarked that at the beginning of this speech Laynez informed the audience that he would quote no authority, no council or

<sup>9</sup> Canisius wrote this from Ingolstadt, where he was temporarily absent from the Council. Cf. *Epistolae Salmeronis*, I, 591.

<sup>10</sup> For Massarelli's summary, see Theiner, I, 490; and also Grisar, II, 193 ff.



Father, no book of which he had not read every page from beginning to end. It is said that he actually quoted thirty-six authors in this discourse, and the works of some of them run into thousands of pages. Astrain finally laid this fable at rest, saying that all the authors, from Ribadeneira and Orlandini to Boero, have erroneously repeated it without supplying any historical foundation. The fact is that the acts of the Council show no such proud assertion, but merely state that he asked the guidance of the Holy Spirit and the help of the Blessed Virgin, on whose birthday he was speaking.<sup>11</sup>

The decrees and canons on the Blessed Sacrament were officially promulgated by the Council after a unanimous vote on October 11. In the meantime preparations were being made by the theologians in discussions on the sacraments of penance and extreme unction. On October 20, Laynez began his speech by declaring that he would talk about contrition, confession, and absolution, and his confrere Alphonsus Salmeron would speak on satisfaction and extreme unction. The two men took up four hours, the whole period allotted to the theologians.

Layneze began by examining the nature of the sacrament, showing clearly how it differs from the regenerative sacrament of baptism, and expounding the principal points of Catholic teaching on the subject. He divided his speech into nine main parts, and followed his usual procedure of proving each one from three sources, the Scriptures, tradition, and reason. The speech was no less erudite and no less thorough than others he had given, but it lacked the fire and eloquence of his previous utterances. It cost him an almost supreme amount of sheer will power simply to deliver it, and afterward he was so exhausted that he obtained the Cardinal President's permission to leave Trent.

<sup>11</sup> The story was evidently started by Ribadeneira, who may have had it as a rumor from some one of his contemporaries. Laynez and Salmeron in their letters, and Polanco in his annals, do not mention it. Cf. Astrain's remarks in his *Historia*, I, 549 f.

While in the act of killing rumors, it may be well to ascertain the death of another fable that has clung to Laynez' reputation. The impression has been made, and sometimes the outright statement, that the conciliar legates found Laynez so indispensable that they called off discussions and meetings whenever the quartan fever prevented him from attending. This is simply another instance of biographical enthusiasm run wild. A casual glance through the acts and diaries of the Council will show how absurd it is. Laynez was frequently taken down with sickness, but there is no indication of long or unusual interruptions in the work of the Council during this period.

The Jesuit had hoped to stay away from the Council until the next official session was called, but the Cardinal granted him permission only until the other theologians and the bishops had given their opinions on penance and extreme unction. It appears that Laynez and Salmeron were commissioned to draw up the first draft for the fourteenth session, and neither of them could be spared for a great length of time. On October 23, he went to Riva de Salo, the vacation place of the Cardinal of Trent, who wished him to use a palanquin for the short journey. This smacked too much of luxury for the poverty-loving priest, and he compromised by accepting one of the Cardinal's horses. He had the good sense to relax completely for a few days, and, when he felt his energy returning, he asked Ignatius to send him one of the lay brothers to act as his stenographer and companion.

Loyola at Rome worried a great deal about Laynez' lack of health, and thought of sending a substitute in the person of Jerome Nadal. But Salmeron assured the Jesuit General that even two or three men could not take the place of James Laynez at Trent, for his mere presence, even when he was unable to speak, was of the utmost importance not only to the Council but also to the Society of Jesus.

In November, Laynez was able to drag himself back to the city and to prepare for the heavy discussions concerning the Mass, soon to engage the assembly of theologians. More than sixty doctors of theology were present when he arose on the morning of December 7, and spoke convincingly for three hours on the proposition, that the Mass is a true sacrifice. Beginning with the famous text of Malachias, he continued by quoting and explaining all the passages in the Scriptures which referred to the sacrifice of the new dispensation. To each of these he added the interpretations given by the various Latin Fathers, a task which in itself demonstrates a surprising amount of erudition.

#### APPROVAL OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

Once again his overworked body broke down, and this time a shudder of fear passed through the Council with the thought that Laynez might be permanently lost to them. Prayers and Masses were offered by everyone for his recovery. Canisius begged that the Jesuits pray for Laynez "because he is suffering terribly from quartan fever. He has been forced to go to a nearby country place in the hope of regaining

his shattered health.”<sup>12</sup> With a tremendous effort the man pulled himself back to a semblance of health, and was soon able, during his convalescence, to give thought to a certain cherished plan of Ignatius Loyola.

This plan was as untraditional and daring as anything that Loyola had yet devised. He wanted nothing less than the full approval of an ecumenical Church Council for the Society of Jesus. Like so many other things he did and suggested, this novel request seemed a simple and good idea to the forthright Jesuit General.

Ignatius Loyola, from the very beginning of the Society, had been careful that the Jesuit organization should be fully approved by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He was aware that a group of the regular clergy could be effective in reforming the world only so far as it should obtain the wholehearted endorsement of the bishops. To this end he instructed Laynez to get some official vote of confidence and approbation for the Society from the Council of Trent. This approval would have been particularly weighty at that time because in some parts of Germany, and even in France, many people considered a Church Council more important than the Pope himself. In those countries the Jesuits might have made even greater progress by showing a conciliar approbation than they would through an apostolic letter.

Layneze did not think there was much chance of getting the bishops' attention away from their other work at that moment, but in the cheerful spirit of obedience he approached John Diaz de Luco, bishop of Calahorra, one of his and the Society's best friends. The Bishop was most willing to do all in his power to forward the prestige of the Jesuits, but he felt—and Laynez and Salmeron agreed with him—that the time was not yet ripe for such a declaration. Up to that time religious orders had been approved by the Pope and never by a council; all the prelates were trying to expedite matters so that they could soon adjourn; the Constitutions should first be translated into the Latin language. De Luco further remarked that the persecutions and difficulties which the Society suffered were the highest kind of approbation in the eyes of God and of good Christian men.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Epistolae Salmeronis*, I, 591.

<sup>13</sup> Laynez and Salmeron wrote a joint letter to Ignatius on December 22, 1551, relating their conversation with the Bishop of Calahorra, and giving the reasons why the request for conciliar approbation should be postponed. *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 197 f.

In the face of these valid arguments Ignatius gave up his idea of obtaining a conciliar approbation, but he repeated an earlier request that the two Jesuits should do all in their power to gain episcopal favor for the Society. Laynez seems to have carried on most of this persuasive activity in private conversations. He gained a lasting friend in William de Prat, the bishop of Clermont, who later founded three Jesuit colleges in France. The illustrious archbishop of Granada, Peter Guerrero, would long remember in a most favorable way the words and works of James Laynez. Gutierre de Carvajal, who founded the College of Piacenza, also maintained a lifelong friendship with Laynez. Practically all the other bishops, fathers, and theologians were approached by the Spanish Jesuit, and returned to their countries singing the praises of the young Society of Jesus.

#### ADJOURNMENT OF THE COUNCIL

Concerning the Council itself, discouraging events had been writing its doom in the beginning of 1552. The ambassadors of the Protestant dukes of Saxony and Württemberg arrived at Trent and soon became the direct cause of the Council's disruption. They tried to intimidate the representatives into accepting Protestant members and decreeing that the Council is superior to the pope. "They declared . . . that the pope, according to a definition of the Council of Basle, is subject to the council in the decrees on matters of faith, in questions of schism and of the reformation of his own person. Before all else the first thing to be defined was that the council is above the pope."<sup>14</sup>

The bishops at Trent were willing to hear the arguments of the Protestant doctors and theologians, and they waited patiently until the end of April for the latter to appear. Instead of sending them, as promised, Duke Maurice of Saxony, with the support of Henry II, sent his army against the Emperor. The Germanies became too dangerous for peaceful theological discussion, and the Council of Trent was once more indefinitely adjourned.

<sup>14</sup> See Salmeron's remarks in his letter to Ignatius, January 25, 1552. *Epistolae Salmeronis*, I, 97-103.



## CHAPTER IX

### *Work and Conflict*

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EARLY in 1552 Laynez saw that his work at the Council was finished and that no more could be hoped for from the assemblies, at least at this particular time. But, unable to obtain permission to leave the city until April 21, he spent the intervening months in visiting important personages. In one of these visits he again displayed his volatile nature by insulting the great Melchior Cano.

#### MELCHIOR CANO

Cano was by all standards an important person in the Church of the sixteenth century. His theological acumen had spread beyond the University of Salamanca, where he was an eminent professor of the divine science. At the Council he was imperial theologian, representing Charles V, and in the city of Trent he received the homage befitting his rank. Laynez recognized all this, and he must also have known that Cano had no love for the Society of Jesus, that he had already had sharp controversies with the Jesuits in Spain. Now Cano was all for Spanish prestige, and it irked him to see the two Spaniards, Laynez and Salmeron, living like beggars, shabbily dressed, working in the pest houses, teaching catechism to children as ignorant priests might be expected to do.

One of the last things Laynez did before leaving the city was to call upon Cano, perhaps to effect a reconciliation with him, certainly to explain the methods and activities of the Society. Both he and Salmeron conversed with the learned friar for about two hours, only to find that Cano's sharp mind contained no end of objections and argu-

ments against the Jesuits. Finally, in disgust, Laynez said: "Now, Father, for the sake of charity, tell me this one thing: Is Your Reverence anything more in the Church of God than a poor friar of St. Dominic?" When Cano replied that he was not, the Jesuit asked: "Then why do you take over the duties of the bishops and the supreme pontiff, Christ's vicar, by condemning and reprobating the very persons whom they approved and still approve?" Smilingly the Dominican countered with his own query: "Does not Your Reverence wish to hear the watchdogs bark when the shepherds are asleep?" "Of course," said Laynez; "let them bark, but let them bark against the wolves, not against other watchdogs."

After this exchange, one would expect the two disputants to come to their senses and leave bad enough alone, but Cano made a further remark to the effect that Jesuits were nothing but dangerous innovators. The fiery Laynez exploded with a vulgarism which cannot be rendered into polite English. He rushed out of the room and down the stairs, but at the street door thought better of it. Penitently he climbed the stairs to Cano's room, knelt before him and asked pardon for the angry insult and for his having been such a fool.<sup>1</sup>

With his apology to Cano, and his more gracious conversations with other priests and prelates completed, Laynez left Trent in the company of Mejía Vargas, the imperial ambassador who gratefully traveled with him to Bassano. In this town he found the climate to his liking and spent about half a month in a successful quest of health and strength. Leaving here, he went to Padua to meet Salmeron, who had arrived there a few days previously from the Council.

#### LAYNEZ' SEVERITY

Laynez felt a personal responsibility for the Jesuits at Padua since he had himself been instrumental in setting them up in that city. Because of this interest or, as Polanco generously remarks, because the effects of his sickness were still upon him, he passed some very critical remarks about the young Jesuit scholastics then studying at the University. Two of them had begun to study dialectics without receiving formal permission to do so. Several others had shown a tendency to

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of this incident, see Astrain, *op. cit.*, I, 561 ff. Nadal says that the insult hurled at Cano by Laynez was: *istas merdas!* Cf. *Epistolae Nadal*, II, 45.

follow their own will rather than that of the Superior, Father Elpidius.

"During the early part of 1552," says Ribadeneira, "Father Laynez was much disturbed about every defect he saw among our men. Although he had been suffering from the quartan fever, he was reproved for this by Father Ignatius. Soon he learned that we are but human beings, and that where many are working together there is sure to be some water mixed with the wine, and some dross with the gold."<sup>2</sup> The humble and brilliant Jesuit took this rebuke in good part. From then on, whenever he had an uncharitable thought about anyone, he would kneel down and pray for that person until he had banished the thought.<sup>3</sup> In spiritual conferences with others he frequently advised this practice.

#### PROVINCIAL OF ITALY

Even though Ignatius Loyola was displeased with the vigorous and truculent attitude Laynez exhibited toward Massarelli and Cano at Trent and toward these young Jesuits at Padua, he now again demonstrated the utmost confidence in the great theologian. On June 11, 1552, he officially appointed Laynez provincial of all the Jesuits in Italy, with the exception of those at Rome, who would remain under the direct jurisdiction of the General himself. He had wished to confer this position the previous year, but Laynez had begged off on the score of sickness and conciliar occupations. Broet had then been named provincial, but only of Southern Italy, a position which he could no longer hold because of a still later appointment to France.

Loyola was considerate enough to leave a loophole in his command, saying that he hoped the provincialate would not be harmful to the condition of Laynez' health. The latter answered honestly from Padua on June 24, 1552, in these words: <sup>4</sup>

Concerning the office of provincial which Your Reverence indicates that I should assume, it pleased God that I was in such condition of health that I could undertake it without wasting words in trying to avoid it. But

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Monumenta Ignatiana*, I, 441.

<sup>3</sup> This is contained among the well-known *Dicta* of Father Laynez, collected in *Epistolae Nadal*, IV, 640.

<sup>4</sup> *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 203-6. The order conferring the office of provincial upon Laynez is to be found in *Monumenta Ignatiana*, IV, 289.

now my conscience forces me to tell you this: The more I have thought about your commands during the last few days, the less I believe that I can acquit myself properly of the office. I have never learned what it means to obey; hence I cannot govern others, especially since I have no experience and no authoritative manner. Rather, I am too frivolous and slipshod. . . . Furthermore, I do not feel entirely free from this quartan fever, for, besides its other ill effects, it occasionally returns in a slight form. Although Your Reverence is aware of this, saying that you do not oblige me, I take less care of myself than of the least person in the house, and this is physically harmful.

Layneze concluded this letter with a request that Ignatius allow him to live all his life in the Society without ever being forced to assume the burden of governing his brethren. But the General informed him by return post that the provincial of Italy was now Father James Laynez, and no further reasoning or argumentation would change that fact. He promised that a copy of the Constitutions would soon be sent to Padua so that he could guide himself concerning the domestic operations of the Jesuit houses, and peruse in particular the chapters dealing with the duties of those in office.

The new provincial was well aware of the fact that the Society, even with its tremendous growth during a dozen years of existence, was still shorthanded in Italy. Laymen and ecclesiastics everywhere were calling for Jesuit priests and Jesuit colleges, but there simply were not enough trained men to answer these demands, and Loyola refused to send out half-trained Jesuits. In spite of this personal and firsthand knowledge, Laynez, in one of his first official acts as provincial, accepted a new foundation at Bassano, only twenty-four miles from Padua.

#### NEW FOUNDATION AT BASSANO

The wisdom of this move is not at first apparent, but it seemed too good an opportunity to miss. Gaspar Gropillo, a pious priest who entered the Society in the autumn of 1552, owned a fine estate outside the city walls of Bassano. It had a church and residence where he used to bring his fellow priests of the diocese for spiritual recreation and contemplation. He offered all this to the Jesuits, subject to the approval of Ignatius. When all prearrangements had been completed, Laynez went there on August 14, preached four times on the two days



following, both to the people and to the local monks. Then in the presence of a notary and witnesses he took over the estate, ordered certain partitions built and rooms provided so that all would be in readiness for the opening of a school.

Instead of returning to Padua, Laynez continued on to Trent, where the Cardinal Bishop Christopher Madruzzi wished to talk with him about the establishing of a college in that city. The prelate and the Jesuit came to the conclusion that they would have to wait until more Jesuits were available; nevertheless they went out to hunt for a suitable location. The Cardinal showed Laynez a public building belonging to the city and asked him what he thought of it. The latter said it would need only a chapel; and the chapel was immediately promised.

Later that same day the Cardinal called a meeting of the city magistrates, asking them to vote upon the gift of this building to the Society. But they thought the building in question was not good enough, and offered the city hall itself as temporary headquarters, reserving only one room for their own meetings, while they would provide a church with a large house and gardens for the college. Prospects grew brighter by the hour. The magistrates evidently inspired even greater generosity in Madruzzi, who then offered still another house together with an annual subsidy of two hundred gold pieces with the promise of an increase in the future.

Laynez was not a man to be easily astonished. He took all this in stride and then asked the Cardinal what he had to offer in the way of teachers and students. Madruzzi answered that Tridentine professors were widely renowned and would draw students from all over Italy and Germany. He would send his own nephews, and would write to the Tyrolese nobles asking them to send their sons. In return, he wished only that the Jesuits would assist him in the work of the spiritual reform in his diocese. Leaving well enough alone, the Provincial promised to begin preparations soon, and then went back to Padua.

Prospects for the Jesuits in Italy and southern Europe were at a high peak, but the lack of capable men was bothering the Provincial. At this time Cardinal Truchsess, bishop of Augsburg, close friend of Le Jay and Canisius, was passing through the city on his way to Rome. He also told Laynez that he wanted a college in his city; and the latter asked him to visit De Medici on the way through Ferrara and Flor-

ence and to transmit some of his own energy and enthusiasm to the Duke.

In September, Laynez made a visitation of the college at Ferrara, stayed for the opening of the school year, encouraged the scholastics there, and was satisfied with everything except the dearth of teachers. He forbade the rector, John Pelletier, to act as chaplain for a girls' orphanage, pointing out that Jesuit education and spiritual care were to be almost exclusively for men and boys. At the end of the month he went to Florence, which would be his headquarters for more than a year, and in this city he finally settled the long-drawn arrangements with the Duke and Duchess. Getting along with a skeleton staff of teachers, he pushed forward the schoolwork to everyone's satisfaction.

#### THE OBJECT OF IGNATIUS' DISPLEASURE

The only one who was not satisfied was Laynez himself. He had been reluctant to accept the post of provincial, but, now that he had it, he entertained his own notions about its scope and limitations. Justly or unjustly, he felt that Ignatius Loyola was interfering too much in purely provincial decisions. The General had shifted men at will, had especially vexed Laynez by calling the invaluable Andrew des Freux from Venice to Rome without so much as consulting the Provincial. Laynez was ready for a showdown, and he sent a complaining letter, couched in constrained though definite terms, to Rome. However, the Provincial had accepted work and made promises without consulting Ignatius, whose passion for detailed reports had not been satisfied in this regard.

Seemingly the General did not trust himself to write his displeasure, but commissioned his secretary Polanco to do so. The latter wrote from Rome on November 2, 1552, pointing out three specific faults which Laynez had committed. First, he had promised his friend Andrew Lippomani that Ignatius would send Father Jerome Otello to take the place of Des Freux at Venice. Loyola says in effect: Never make promises unless you tell me about them first, or unless you are certain that I will fulfill them. Secondly, he had not only objected to the removal of Des Freux but had voiced that objection to Fathers De Olave, Salmeron, and Des Freux himself. This is a violation of the Society's spirit, for a Jesuit must never tell others that his Superior is giving wrong orders. Thirdly, he had sent a certain Gaspar to Rome

without first providing information concerning the man, his character, and the reason why he had been sent. Laynez should meditate over these things for three days and then tell Ignatius by letter what penance he thinks should be imposed.<sup>5</sup>

The Jesuit Provincial of Italy was a man of deep emotions. His best friend in this world, aside from Alphonsus Salmeron, was Ignatius Loyola, whom he revered as a saint, admired as a wise man, and loved as a personal companion. He was probably more grieved over Loyola's refusal to write the letter himself than he was over its contents. In the middle of November he sent his reply, couched in the quality of frankness and humility which characterizes the soul of a great man. He had read and reread the letter of reproof during several days, and was completely ashamed of himself for putting his own petty desires and problems before those of the General. He had been hasty and inexcusable in thinking that his own vision was broader than Loyola's. Laynez wrote in effect:

Regarding the choice of a penance, I have been considering these past few days that it is now almost twenty years since I began to follow the evangelical counsels of our Lord. I have had so many graces and have done so little good. The end of this brief life seems very close, and I desire to die to myself and to all that is in me and to live only in fulfilling God's will and in pleasing Him. It seemed to me, therefore, that if in the future I were to be treated as mere rubbish and offal, as I deserve, I could be helped to live with God alone in my soul, directing all my attention and affection to His praises. I would be dead to the world, and the world dead to me.

He then proposes three degrees of penance, any of which he is most willing to perform at the command of Ignatius. He chose these things tearfully, "a rare thing with me," and would accept in a docile and peaceful manner whatever is commanded. First, he proposes that he should be relieved of the office of governing others, deprived of all preaching and study and books (with the exception of the breviary), ordered to beg his way to Rome and there work in the kitchen or garden. If he is found useless in this manual labor, he is willing to

<sup>5</sup> This letter is given in the *Epistolae et instructiones*, IV, 498 ff., and was marked personal for Laynez, *Soli Patri Laynez*. "Please accept this letter," begins Polanco, "not as coming from your servant Polanco who is full of all respect and reverence for you, but as though it came from a mere pen, a writing instrument for our Father [Ignatius], who has ordered me to send it to you."



take charge of the lowest grammar grades. "And this until death, without receiving any more attention, as far as external appearances go, than an old broomstick. In the second place, I choose the same penance, but limiting the time to one, two, or three years, as Your Reverence may command."

As a third penitential possibility, Laynez chooses to be relieved of his office, to go without supper, and to take the discipline on Fridays during Advent. He proposes further to be particularly careful and respectful in all his letters to Rome, that he would never again say or write anything that would be offensive to Loyola. "And this same care for not offending you will be mine, whether you are present or absent, although in this I have had very little difficulty, except for those few times at Rome, of which you are aware. Since some, as you have informed me, may have been disedified by my conduct, I think you could show them this letter to prove in all truth that I have made a mistake and deeply regret it, and that it is my firm intention to amend myself."<sup>6</sup>

Anyone who does not understand the language and sentiments of the sixteenth century, who does not comprehend the true nature of religious obedience, would immediately misinterpret these words of the great Laynez as an indication of a groveling character. Nothing could be further from the truth. He was an authoritarian in the correct sense of the word, just as every member of society, domestic, religious, or civil, must be authoritarian for the preservation of good order. Today men are not perhaps "tearful" about their mistakes, but if they are to make any moral progress at all, they must certainly have the inward sentiments of Laynez and a similar desire to repent of those mistakes and repair them.

#### LAYNEZ AS PROVINCIAL

In spite of these internal difficulties, Laynez proceeded to the business of the province with his accustomed energy. Toward the end of the year 1552 he devoted practically all his time to the college at

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 216-19. Loyola specifically objected to these three actions of Laynez: he had complained about the removal of Des Freux; had promised Lippomani that Otello would be sent in place of Des Freux; and had sent a certain Gaspar from Padua to Rome without sending any previous information to Ignatius about the man. These actions are also mentioned *passim* but more or less guardedly in the *Chronicon* for 1552, III, 61. There is no indication that Loyola enjoined any of the proposed penances, nor can I find any record of his reply to Laynez' letter.



Florence. He gave a weekly exhortation to the Jesuits there, striving particularly to inculcate the Jesuit spirit in the younger members of the community. The secular students were all quite young and they, too, experienced the charm and simplicity of the Provincial's addresses to them. During Advent he preached the principal sermons from the pulpit of the Cathedral Church, and gave several private sermons of advice and instruction to the ruling nobility of the vicinity. By this time his name was a magnet to draw even the most negligent Catholics, who ordinarily avoided sermons as they would avoid the plague.

The eloquent Spaniard was always perfectly at ease in the pulpit and enjoyed the work of teaching the word of God to large crowds. At the turn of the year his Superior at Rome told him to cut down the amount of time given to preaching, giving as a reason the fact that Laynez was still experiencing occasional bouts with the fever. His sickness had by this time become almost a habit, and Laynez thought that he could carry it along like other habits even while doing his regular work. But the command of Ignatius was law. To Laynez' philosophical frame of mind, the prohibition had its pleasant side too, because he reasoned that the people would be all the more avid for his sermons after doing without them for a while.

I do not think that the Jesuit Provincial was a perfectionist either with himself or with his subjects, but he was certainly an inspiring and insistent driver of men. He wished them to work. A few idle men would be like a ferment in the house, he said, and would affect others; they would have to wake up or leave. He extended his authority into the schools too, ordering that Greek should be taught. On the spiritual side he decreed that a confessor should be appointed for each class, to whom the boys would have to go every month, at least for a spiritual conversation. He himself became confessor to one of the classes.

At the beginning of Lent, 1553, Laynez' doctor ordered him to disregard the law of fast and abstinence, at least to the extent of eating eggs, but the priest said he would decide such matters for himself. As his health again improved, he assumed several different jobs at one time. Besides giving the weekly exhortations to the religious community and to the student body, he became temporary chaplain for two military camps in the neighborhood, and official preacher in the cathedral.

## LAYNEZ' HANDWRITING

In addition to all this Laynez used a great deal of time for six or seven months in 1553 on a compendium of the whole science of theology. For a long time Ignatius Loyola had been urging him to set down in book form, in a *Summa theologica*, the vast knowledge which he had always displayed in this field. Laynez seemed reluctant to set to work on it. His great avocation and preoccupation was talk. He could give speeches by the hour; he could study and read for days to find the solution of some theological problem, but he dreaded the drudgery of authorship. His temperament was not suited to the grueling hours of writing, and his penmanship was so abominable that he would have had to redictate everything to a stenographer.

Father Boero examined Laynez' original manuscripts during the last century and gave them up as useless and impossible of interpretation. This biographer says of Laynez:

All his writings still remain as they first came from his pen, and he never thought of revising or perfecting them. On the contrary, he was quite humble about himself and his products, judging them unworthy of publication. He seemed willing to have them buried with himself, and to deprive posterity of the hope of reading, admiring, and publishing them. In general, his handwriting is extremely bad; when he writes rapidly and for his own use, it has such strange shapes and odd features that no one so far, even after long scrutiny, has been able to read or understand even one section of it. The characters are ciphers rather than letters; the words are not clear and distinct, but so close together that they mingle and run into one another; nor is there any trace of a margin on either side. Furthermore, the words are often abbreviated, without any determinable rule or norm. Only Father Alphonsus Salmeron, because of his long friendship with Laynez and because of their mutual communication of thoughts and writings, had the key for interpreting these manuscripts. He availed himself of them opportunely, especially of the selections taken from the Fathers, in order to compose his sixteen volumes on the New Testament.<sup>7</sup>

## PROJECTED COMPENDIUM OF THEOLOGY

But these adverse factors were not considered legitimate excuses by either Loyola or Laynez to prevent the writing of a compendium

<sup>7</sup> Giuseppe Boero: *Vita del Servo di Dio P. Giacomo Lainez*, p. 340. This was written in 1880 before Grisar demonstrated that patient labor and careful study could make sense of Laynez' handwriting. Both Polanco and Salmeron testify to its practical illegibility; cf.



la verdad de lo que se afirma por la voluntad  
después de lo que se ha celebrado muchas veces  
comunicado me mucho a n. f. y otros por mi  
parece con otros y en mi conciencia no lo  
puedo creer lo que me se sospecha y que se dice  
en mi voluntad y que se dice que se dice  
del enemigo lo que se dice y mi suplica en  
suplico por esto con todas sus fuerzas me ayude por  
lo que se dice sin duda que se dice mucho a n. f. y por  
lo que se dice en otros y en mi conciencia por mi  
noire de la a 12 de febrero 1557

Diego Laynez

Example of Laynez' Handwriting



Example of Laynez' handwriting, a letter written to Ignatius and other prominent men in which he asks their help in avoiding the Cardinalate. It was edited and published in the *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 281–2, as follows:

Abiendo entendido por conjeturas no sé qué de la voluntad de Su Santidad, después de aber celebrado muchas vezes y encomendádome mucho á Dios N. S. y otros por mí sobre ello, me paresce en Dios y en mi conciencia que no <sup>1</sup> soy inhábil para lo que de mí se sospecha por muchas razones, (y estas saben mejor los de la Compañía;) <sup>2</sup> y que serviré más á nuestro Señor y á la iglesia y á Su Santidad, perseverando en mi vocación, como tengo á nuestro Señor votado y prometido, (en especial según la constitución arriba puesta) <sup>3</sup> y que temo que no sea sugestión del enemigo lo contrario; y así suplico á N. que en enpedir esto con todas sus fuerças, me ayude, porque en ello creo sin duda que servirá mucho á nuestro Señor. Y porque así lo siento en Dios y en mi conciencia, firmé esta de mi nombre. De casa, á 19 de Deziembre, 1555. Diego Laynez.

<sup>1</sup> When correcting the word *hábil* to *inhábil*, Laynez forgot to cross out the particle *no*.

<sup>2</sup> These eight words were added between the lines and in the margin by Laynez himself.

<sup>3</sup> These seven words in the margin are in Polanco's hand.



of theology. At any rate, he finally set himself to the task and worked faithfully at it while at Florence. Ignatius had discussed the project with him and with Nadal, and at first they decided upon several thorough treatises that would cover the whole field of theology. But Laynez was so essential to the Society in its more active phases that this idea had to be dropped, and in its place there was planned a series of short treatises that could be used as textbooks in the seminaries and universities. The General ordered all members of the Society to offer prayers and Masses for the success of the project.

The difficulties in attempting such an undertaking at Florence were considerable. There was nothing like modern library facilities or reference rooms in the city; in fact, the supply of source books there was quite inadequate. But Laynez had read long and thoroughly in the Fathers and principal theologians, and not only knew the doctrines they held, but had even memorized their very words in important solutions. The decisions of Church councils were almost as familiar to him as the Sacred Scriptures. After much thought and discussion over these things, he planned the work in outline, and then began to write.

The plan called for a division into five parts. The first was to be an introduction, more or less historical, to the whole study of theology; and this he left to be written after all the rest had been completed. The second book treated the divine nature and the properties common to the whole Trinity. The third was on the generation of the divine Word; the fourth on the procession of the Holy Ghost. The fifth book was to be on creation, and the sixth was to treat God's relation to the world, including providence, the Incarnation, and Redemption. Of these sections, the first, fifth, and sixth were never written. The second, third, and fourth turned out to be full-sized books of greater length than Laynez had intended to make them; but in sending them on for Ignatius' approval in July, 1553, he suggested that they could easily be converted into digest form. Ultimately, however, these manuscripts were lost (or, at least, never published) and the other books were never written.<sup>8</sup>

*Epistolae Salmeronis*, I, 325 f., 368. Laynez, however, seemed to think that Polanco could make out his hand, for he suggested that the latter should interpret it for Loyola; cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 60.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 222 ff. Laynez' plans for a *Summa theologica* are mentioned numerous times in the letters of other Jesuits during this year. See also Polanco's account

For a short while in the early summer of 1553 it seemed that Ignatius would recall Laynez to Rome to resume his professorship in theology at the college there. He considered the whole question seriously, spoke to Polanco and others about it, asked Laynez' own opinion about its advisability. The latter was more than willing to give up his position as provincial and to return to the lecture hall and would have needed no second invitation to do so. As usual, Ignatius debated both sides of the question to discover where his man would do the most good for the Church and the Society. He concluded that the post of Italian provincial was the more important, and Laynez stayed where he was.

At the same time, the Jesuit General wished to open a college at Almazan, the birthplace of Laynez, who had offered for the purpose his own patrimony and that of his brother Christopher. Christopher, the problem child of the Laynez family, was at that time a Jesuit, though Ignatius would soon evict him. His widowed mother and his two sisters would have to be supported by the proceeds of the Laynez estate. Thus the estate could not be freely converted to the needs of a Jesuit college until after her death, but there were some available chaplaincies and benefices in the vicinity of Almazan, the rents of which might be collected for the Society. Laynez was willing to do everything in his power to please Ignatius in this regard but the project eventually fell through.<sup>9</sup>

of the matter, III, 67 f., where he says that "urgent occupations more and more prevented its completion."

<sup>9</sup> The exact transactions concerning this college at Almazan are lost in several contemporary and contradictory statements. According to the *Epistolae et instructiones*, V, 57, Ignatius accepted a foundation for the college on April 29, 1553. A month after this date Laynez wrote a letter from Florence in which the whole affair seems still to be an open question. In the *Chronicon*, III, 71, Polanco writes: *quamvis donatio facta est ab utroque fratre, nihilominus res successum non habuit.*



## CHAPTER X

### *The Provincial and the Duchess*

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AS PROVINCIAL of Italy, Laynez could not remain many months in one city. In the light of this consideration, it is surprising that he had been able to spend so much time at Florence, but we can readily deduce from his letters that the feminine stubbornness of the Duchess Eleanor was a large factor in it. The lady's wishes could not be easily ignored, and her first wish was that he remain close to the city. But in the autumn of 1553, Jesuit business and the persistent invitation of the Genoese took him away. In October he went from Florence to Genoa in a drenching rainstorm, with the result that he was laid up in bed with the complications of fever, colic, and calculus.<sup>1</sup>

#### COLLEGIATE FOUNDATIONS AT GENOA

Having recuperated sufficiently, the Provincial went through the whole wearisome round of necessary activity preparatory to opening a college there. As a matter of fact he was offered two foundations and worked on both of them at the same time; the one was given by the citizens and was located in the center of town; the other by a certain wealthy family that would also build a church in the suburbs. The chief person in this family, the Archbishop of Genoa, had already been in Rome and had offered Ignatius an annual grant of two thousand scudi if the Society would open the school and also celebrate twelve Masses daily for his intention.

<sup>1</sup> On this journey Laynez met Simon Rodriguez, whom he had not seen in many years and who had just narrowly escaped capture by the Turks on his return from Spain. Laynez walked back six miles toward Florence with him so that they could spend the night together reminiscing over old times.

Genoa was a city of wealth and industry, one of the principal sea-ports of the European world, used to doing things in the grand manner. Founding two colleges at a time was a characteristic gesture of the generous Genoese. At Florence the authorities had made many empty promises of support and had forbidden religious priests from begging for a living. At Genoa the law also forbade mendicants, but the citizens fulfilled their promises to maintain the faculties of the two colleges. They wished to hurry all preparations to an immediate conclusion, but the Provincial had had too much experience in these matters, and the schools did not begin functioning until the following year.

The Duchess Eleanor had allowed Laynez a leave of absence of only two months, understanding that he would return for the Advent of 1553. Reading between the lines, we can correctly judge that the priest was fully surfeited with these pretensions of feminine authority and that he was reluctant to drop everything at Genoa. Prospects were better here than at Florence; the archbishop, Jerome Sauli, and the leading businessmen wished him to settle their problems on contracts and usury; Ignatius himself thought he should remain at the port city while maintaining a supervision of affairs at Florence. To keep peace with everyone Laynez asked the Duchess for leave until Easter, 1554, which she somewhat sourly granted.<sup>2</sup>

#### LAYNEZ' INFLUENCE IN GENOA

During all this period the city of Genoa was in turmoil because of the war then being waged. Some of the German princes in the north had broken out against the rule of the Emperor. Henry II of France had connived in this revolt and, to make it more effective, was now allied with the Turks and corsairs in the Mediterranean. The seacoast in the vicinity of Genoa was under the combined power of the French and the Turks, with the result that Genoese shipping business was under ceaseless attack. The city had been able to raise a formidable army and a number of well-armed ships of war, and was now holding its own against the enemy.

<sup>2</sup> When Laynez did not appear at Florence as scheduled, Eleanor complained to Ignatius that the Society was not living up to its previous commitments. The General, knowing all the angles of the situation, was very gentle in his command of May 10, ordering the Provincial to return. On May 17, Laynez answered this letter, and left Genoa the same day. Cf. also his letter of April 26, *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 253-56.

At first blush it seems that a republic thus engaged in defending itself would have little time to listen to the intellectual, spiritual, and moral advice that Father Laynez could offer. But the contrary is true. Perhaps they considered this war a visitation on them for the shady business and sharp practices that had brought them to the peak of prosperity. Whatever the reason, they were worried about these things, and they asked the Jesuit to give them some straight moral principles according to which they could guide future dealings in banking, exchange, contracts, interest rates, and so forth. This he proceeded to do, first in a series of conferences, and then in permanent and published form distributed widely throughout the territory.

#### USURY

Even before he had completed this treatise, *Disputatio de usura variisque negotiis mercatorum*, Laynez had seen some very satisfying results of his talks on the same subject. In several specific cases given him to solve he pointed out the injustice of the contract and obtained restitution to the injured parties. There were no corporations and no corporation laws in those days requiring the auditing of commercial records. Laynez achieved the next best thing by having the magistrates pass a law to the effect that on demand any merchant would have to deliver his books and contracts for the inspection of appointed moral theologians and lawyers. There were certain knotty questions, however, which Laynez preferred to submit to the judgment of the Holy See. Meanwhile he wrote up the main parts of his treatise so that confessors could guide people in the more or less ordinary problems. To these he added an explanation of general moral principles and various other aspects that could be profitably read by the businessmen themselves.<sup>3</sup>

Laynez offers nothing new or startling in his opinions on usury. In general they are little more than an orderly arrangement and repetition of the ancient ecclesiastical teachings prohibiting the taking of unearned interest. For many centuries canon law had been adamant on this question of usury, basing its decrees on the writings of the Church Fathers and the words of the Scripture itself. All of this was

<sup>3</sup> The best copy of this work is found in Grisar, II, 227-321. Azagra, pp. 148-52, gives a brief commentary on it. In his letter of May 17, 1554, Laynez says that the bishop, Aegidius Falconetta, had ordered him to write this treatise.

valid and applicable in the ancient social milieu, but no one knew better than Laynez that the world of trade and commerce was bringing vast changes in social concepts.

The author, however, did not see far enough ahead and he still adhered to certain concepts that are now no longer valid. He holds in general that money is an unfruitful thing, that like other commodities it is consumed *ipso usu*. It is a sterile thing, and cannot bear interest of itself, it cannot produce profit. If this seemingly rigid stand disturbs the admirer of Laynez, it must be remembered that times have greatly changed. Business life today does not move along the same staid and stolid lines of the sixteenth century; money has become a much more pliable thing than a mere medium of exchange. It must be noted, too, that Laynez really holds open the door for the present theory of interest, because he insists that the lender may morally accept—and justly demand—interest when the loan causes his own profits to be cut down or when it causes him some positive loss.

From a historical point of view the most valuable contribution made by this treatise is the picture it affords us of mercantile usage of that period. Every kind of business transaction and problem of the Genoese lies open before our eyes, and a comparison can easily be drawn to the similar problems of our own day. International business dealings are also explained, especially those between Lyons and Genoa and those of Besançon in Burgundy.

The whole work is divided into twenty-eight chapters, the first four of which are merely introductory. "Regarding usury," writes Laynez, "we will declare (a) what it is; (b) whether it is a sin; (c) if it is a sin, whether it is a sin because it is prohibited, or rather prohibited because it is a sin; that is, whether usury is wrong only because it is forbidden by positive law or whether it is also against the natural law; (d) what kind of sin and how harmful it is; (e) what are the most common cases in which usury is not present, although it seems to be; (f) finally, what are the most common cases in which usury is actually present."

According to Laynez' carefully explained definition, "a usurious person is one who makes a loan or a contract and, because of it, either demands or accepts something above the amount loaned. Usury itself is either the profit made from the loan, or the transaction of loaning."



It is forbidden by divine and human law and is contrary to natural law, which statement he proceeds to prove from the Scriptures, Fathers, and Councils, and also from a philosophical argument to the effect that usurious interest is "something for nothing."

For the student of human nature, however, the most interesting and provocative part of the book is the short eighth chapter, where the author gives reasons why the practice of taking interest is harmful to man and society. "The usurer is worse than the sneak thief and highwayman because he is more industrious, pleasant, and clever. People willingly give him the clothes off their backs, which he accepts as a pledge and then keeps. Indeed he acts as smoothly and blandly as a worm's touch, but with the sharpest teeth he gnaws through and eats up a man's substance." By his great profits, which come to him without labor whether he is sleeping or awake, he incites others to avarice. Farmers, workmen, businessmen, soldiers, and intellectuals, all have to slave for their living, while he becomes wealthy without effort.

Usury is harmful also to the public good because it impedes business transactions which are themselves conducive to the commonweal. It raises prices and removes from circulation money that could be used for taxes or the hiring of workers. It is the cause of penury because farmers and other poor folk neglect their work when they cannot obtain the necessary capital. There arises also that root of all social problems, class hatred; for the poor will hate the rich by whom they have been exploited. Finally, it is foolish to claim that usury is necessary and cannot be extirpated; for if it were prohibited by law those who really need loans could obtain them from the *montes pietatis*.

For the benefit of confessors who have to settle cases of conscience, Laynez offers two chapters, nine and ten, in which he lays down the rules and conditions that determine whether a specific contract is usurious. He does this by giving a number of varied examples, which in separate or combined form should be found to fit all the ordinary cases proposed by merchants to confessors. The important point for the confessor is to learn not only the intention which the parties had in the loan, but also to distinguish carefully between money presented as a gift to the lender and money paid for the actual use of the loan.

## FOREIGN EXCHANGE

Chapters eleven to twenty-four treat particularly of usurious practices in foreign exchange, which is the changing of the currency of one realm for that of another, or exchanging silver coins for gold money, and so forth. Usury enters into the transaction when someone is paid for this service a fee above what the actual service is worth. The purpose of this exchange may vary and its morality depends upon whether a man does it to help business and civic progress or does it simply for the sake of personal profit. In this, as in other economic views, Laynez follows Aristotle in condemning men who are in business solely for the sake of making money. But he is willing to admit that such transactions, especially in letters of exchange for men who have commercial connections in various cities, can be of value to the common good.

The author then lays down the conditions according to which a man may judge whether any particular kind of exchange is illicit or licit. He employs many pages in discussing the type currently called the Besançon exchange, used especially in dealings with the Lyonesse business firms, which was at that time open to much doubt and abuse. The mark, the standard piece of currency in Burgundy, was worth less than the scudo, used by the Genoese. But if a merchant in Genoa owed a debt of seventy marks to a man in Besançon, he would have to pay his own banker in Genoa seventy scudi. The latter would instruct his agent in the other city to pay out seventy marks, which in actual purchasing power were worth only about sixty-seven or sixty-eight scudi. The extra two or three scudi would be pocketed as profit by the banker. According to Laynez' judgment, this is illicit, first because there is no actual exchange of money, secondly because the banker's agent always waited for a low market price before paying the debt, and lastly because the profit made on the deal was unjustly high.

After explaining these remarks, Laynez proceeds to answer the arguments commonly given in defense of this kind of exchange. He shows the dangers that arise from it and shows ways in which the whole system can be legalized. Finally he writes two chapters on unfair practices in buying and selling, another chapter on the remedies that may be applied to the vice of usury, and concludes thus: "The poor can be kept from entangling themselves in the snares of the

usurer if the wealthy will lend them money free of charge and if so-called *montes pietatis* are erected in the cities. With the application of these remedies and with the help of God the evil of usury would undoubtedly be removed, if not entirely, at least in great part."

#### RETURN TO FLORENCE

Layneze had not yet finished all the cases on usury that had been given him to solve, some from Rome, others from the Archbishop of Genoa. In the middle of May the Genoese demanded that he stay, or at least promise to return, and the priest himself was not too happy about returning to Florence. But the Duchess Eleanor was pregnant and in bad humor, complaining that the Provincial had already overstayed his leave and that she would never again give him permission to leave the city. When she heard that he was on the way back, she ordered and paid for a complete new outfit of clothing for each of the Jesuits in Florence.<sup>4</sup>

If the Jesuit Provincial was not properly exasperated with this self-willed virago, he should have been. When he got back to the city he discovered that all her complaints and worries had been nothing more than the expression of selfishness, and that there was really no urgent need for him there. It is true that his fellow Jesuits were in financial want most of the time, but his own presence did not materially enrich them. When he proposed that they beg from house to house the Duchess strenuously objected that her husband would take care of everything; but this he failed to do.

#### DUCHESS ELEANOR

As the time for Eleanor's confinement approached, she became still more querulous, demanding that Laynez remain always near at hand so that in case of danger she could ask his advice and assistance. The Provincial, probably in despair of any other escape, took to his bed with a fever, but she came pounding on the college doors to visit him and also sent all kinds of delicacies and money for medicines. By this time the priest was completely annoyed. As Polanco gently narrates his ire: "He thought that all these things neither helped him

<sup>4</sup> In narrating this incident, Polanco cannot make up his mind whether she did this to show a special mark of favor toward Laynez or to fulfill a promise made earlier in the year. Cf. *Chronicon*, IV, 161 f.

to get well nor tended toward the improvement of Jesuit affairs in general; and all the other marks of her affection were bothersome to him. They were an incitement to leave Florence rather than to remain, and he felt that as far as praying for her was concerned, he could do that better if he were out of reach of her clutches."

In the beginning of August the Duke, Cosmo de Medici, gained a brilliant victory over the Sienese and French troops under Peter Strozzi at Marciano. He was a shrewd politician and probably the ablest field general in the employ of the Emperor, succeeding by treachery when other means of warfare failed. Laynez never held the Duke in high regard but he gratefully, and erroneously, thought that this victory would at least take the Duchess' mind off himself. Polanco remarks that her domination over him had been strengthened by this victory, and when he visited them upon the return of the Duke she remarked: "We owe this victory to Father, who begged God for it in his prayers." Laynez, who probably never in his life offered a prayer for the Duke's military achievements, took the remark calmly, and, depending upon everyone's good humor, obtained permission to leave Florence.<sup>5</sup>

The day Laynez left Florence for Genoa, an incident took place that caused a disturbance all over the Italian province of the Society of Jesus. A young noble, John Ricasoli, who was nephew of the Bishop of Cortona and was related to most of the Florentine nobility, disappeared from the city. His mother had refused to allow him to become a Jesuit, and everyone thought the Provincial had taken him along to Rome. The Duke promised to send out horsemen and to find the boy no matter where the Jesuits had hidden him. The Duchess ordered the rector of the college to inform Laynez that he should not accept him. The fact is that the Provincial had nothing whatever to do with this disappearance; but when the searchers failed to find the youth either at Rome or at Genoa, the Jesuits at Florence were subjected to a virulent verbal abuse such as the city had seldom heard. Even this abuse, however, gradually abated and the incident was forgotten.

#### LAYNEZ BROTHERS AND MENDOZA BROTHERS

In September, Laynez went from Genoa to Rome, taking with him his nephew, Aloysius Mendoza, who had been in the army in France,

<sup>5</sup> The ducal heir was born in his absence.



and Frederick Manrique de Lara, son of the Imperial Ambassador. Both these young men desired to enter the Society, and, although Ignatius had not been forewarned that they were coming with Laynez, he graciously accepted them. Mendoza, who was the third among Laynez' close relatives to become a Jesuit, seems to have given his uncle more satisfaction than any of the others. Mark Laynez had died; Christopher was a perpetual source of trouble; John Mendoza, brother of Aloysius, later left the Society. John had tried to become a saint overnight, and in his own way. When he was a scholastic at Loreto he received a letter from Laynez telling him that abnegation of one's own will is more effective than bodily mortification.<sup>6</sup>

Like the Laynez brothers, James and Christopher, the Mendoza brothers, Aloysius and John, were very different in character and attainment. They were the sons of James' sister, Maria Coronel and her husband John Hurtado de Mendoza. With the inconsistency of youth John Mendoza pursued a sporadic spiritual life, growing energetic for a while and promising great improvement after receiving a letter of salutary advice from his uncle.<sup>7</sup>

When the Jesuit Provincial recommended his nephews to the Society of Jesus he had no way of discerning which would disappoint him and which would please him. He had been away from Almazan and had never seen these youths, even as young boys. Aloysius Mendoza, however, seems to have been a Jesuit after his uncle's own fashion. Laynez took him to France on important work in 1561; and two years later sent him to Spain with his good friend, Otto Truchsess, cardinal of Augsburg. Father Aloysius then returned to Italy the year before Laynez died.<sup>8</sup>

These family affairs were all in the distant future, however, while Laynez deposited his nephew at Rome and spent a few days with Ignatius Loyola. Hastily he examined the men picked for the faculty of the Jesuit college at Genoa, and then returned with them to that

<sup>6</sup> This letter was addressed from Rome, May 8, 1557, and is contained in *Monumenta Lainii*, II, 255 f. For more about John Mendoza, cf. *ibid.*, I, 377, 582, and II, 56; cf. also *Monumenta Ignatiana*, X, 402, and XI, 219.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, II, 490, for James' letter, and III, 94, for the nephew's reply. Somewhat later, however, James Laynez' mother wrote to him asking information of her grandson John, who was no longer in the Society, and saying that Maria Coronel was worried about him. Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 209.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, V, 586; *Epistolae Nadal*, II, 618; and also *Monumenta Lainii*, VII, 669.

city. For the remainder of this year and part of January, 1555, the Jesuit Provincial stayed at Genoa where, as Ignatius told Salmeron, he was "very successful in the work of preaching and in the school which now had more than two hundred students."<sup>9</sup> Even while he was engaged in this work he was appointed by Pope Julius III to accompany the apostolic legate, Cardinal Morone, to the Protestant diet then being held in Germany. This appointment was made in the first days of the new year, and included also Jerome Nadal. Evidently it was made at the repeated request of Peter Canisius, who was then in Germany and who sorely needed the theological abilities of Laynez.

#### AGAIN AT FLORENCE

Layneze was on the verge of leaving Genoa for Florence when he received a communication from Ignatius containing the Pope's command that he meet Cardinal Morone either at Florence or at Bologna. Without a moment's hesitation he decided to await the Cardinal at Bologna rather than at Florence. But he could not resist the sweet temptation of seeing the Duchess' disappointment at the news. Accordingly, on the last day of January he arrived at Florence to express his greetings and farewell in one short visit. But the Jesuit was not ruthless enough to be a match for her feminine wiles. She vehemently recalled that both Loyola and Laynez had solemnly promised her that the latter would preach the Lenten sermons in the Church of St. Lawrence at Florence. If he left now she would have the gates of the city forever closed against his return, a favor which he would have gladly accepted were it not harmful to the other Jesuits in the city. At any rate, it was doubtful that the Legate would ever set out for Germany, because the Diet might not fully convene; if he did go, he would have to pass through the city on his way to Germany.

Always the gentleman, the Provincial gave in. He started his series of sermons at St. Lawrence on February 12, having first protested that he would drop everything as soon as Morone set foot in the city. Two weeks later, on February 26, that happy event took place, when Jerome Nadal also arrived in the retinue of the Cardinal. Polanco

<sup>9</sup> It was always the custom of the Jesuit General to include in his letters news of the activities of other members of the Society. He wished the men to know what success attended the work of the others and, as in this case, he took special care to mention the good friends of the man to whom he was writing. Cf. *Epistolae et instructiones*, VIII, 191.

slyly remarks that "the Legate himself had to contend with the Duchess, who was steadfast in her determination to keep Father Laynez because of the condition of her health, though she pretended that it was on account of the Lenten sermons. But by his dexterity the Legate easily disposed of the Duchess." She had even ordered some horses prepared to take her to Rome, where she would change the Pope's mind about all this. But she was with child again, and not able to undertake the journey.

#### DEPARTURE FOR GERMANY

The party, bound for Germany, left the city on the day after Ash Wednesday, 1555. Although Laynez departed with her consent, she immediately showed her displeasure, declaring that she was no longer bound to former promises. A college of the Society simply could not exist in those days without a stabilized endowment and the active cooperation of civil authorities. The rector, Father Le Pelletier, pointed out that colleges in other cities had been founded later than the one at Florence, and were much more successful in doing the work of God and His Church. Things went from bad to worse while the Duchess fumed about Jesuit injustice done her. She had a phobia that death was always hovering just above her head. She wanted only one person in this world always close to her, and that was Laynez. The school could go its merry way alone.

Nadal had brought from Ignatius a set of instructions for himself and Laynez, and a letter appointing the two men joint commissioners with full authority over all Jesuit negotiations in Italy, Austria, and other Germanic regions. Each had complete authority when he was alone, but when together they were to make joint decisions. In the instructions he told them that their first duty was to the Pope and his representatives, and they should remember this in all dealings with Morone, Truchsess, Bavarian princes, and imperial officials. At the same time they should keep an eye on the affairs and prospects of the Society, especially in Vienna, Prague, Augsburg, and Ingolstadt. It was not necessary to consult the General on other things unless a particular difficulty of some kind should arise.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 436-41. These instructions were written at Rome on February 18, 1555, showing that Ignatius thought them over for about six weeks after the papal appointment was made before setting them on paper.

The northward journey was made slowly. At Trent, Laynez was effusively greeted by Cardinal Christopher Madruzzi, with whom he made arrangements for the support of German students and seminarists; a little later at Brescia he talked over the same affair with Cardinal Durante de Duranti, bishop of Alghero. Not knowing that the Pope had died on March 23, the party arrived at Augsburg on the Vigil of the Annunciation, where they were royally welcomed by Ferdinand I, King of the Romans, Cardinal Madruzzi, and other bishops and princes who had come out to meet the papal legate. On March 27, they heard the disturbing news that Julius III was mortally ill, and two days later they were informed of his death.

Nadal and Laynez thought for a while that they would be expected to carry on their discourses and disputations with the Protestant theologians, and they worked in feverish preparation for it. But the Pope's death disrupted all plans. Morone and Madruzzi left for Rome on the last day of the month, instructing Laynez to return to Florence. Before leaving on April 2 in the company of Bishop Beccatello, Laynez had a long talk with his old friend Bishop Weber, who had wished to have the Jesuit raised to the episcopacy. He conversed also about affairs in England with Peter Soto, former confessor of the Emperor and now representative of the Diet for Philip of Spain, husband of Mary Tudor.

Back at Florence, the Jesuit Provincial wrote a short and enlightening report to Rome, listing what he considered the real difficulties in the way of Germany's return to the true faith. The man certainly had kept his eyes open during the short sojourn, and his diagnosis of the troubled religious affairs in Germany agrees substantially with that of most historians. The first impediment, he says, is the ancient conflict of the ruling families of Saxony and the Palatinate with the House of Austria. The second is the Emperor, Charles V, who was simply neglecting German territories altogether. The third is Ferdinand I, whose exacting and unreasonable officiousness was alienating people. The fourth was the King's oldest son, Maximilian, who was reading Lutheran books, listening to their preachers, and indulging them in everything. The fifth was the heretics' exaggerated reports about ecclesiastical scandals at Rome. The sixth was the bad impression made by John du Bellay, cardinal of Paris, who had written certain letters attacking the papal legation to the Diet. Lastly, there were the



religious and civil dissensions among the Catholics themselves, and the scandalous lives of the clergy, almost all of whom had concubines.<sup>11</sup>

It was Laynez' design, of course, that these facts should become known not only to the Jesuits at Rome, but also to the new Pope, Marcellus II. But events in the Holy City had shaped themselves with a rapidity that was breathtaking; and almost before the report could reach there, the new Holy Father was dead. In the circumstances this was an especially hard blow to the Spanish Jesuit, for the Pope, formerly Cardinal Marcellus Cervini, had been more than a mere acquaintance to him. His election took place in record time, April 10, and he had barely time to settle to the routine of office when he suffered a stroke of apoplexy on April 29. He died two days later.

#### POPE PAUL IV

The cardinals again went into conclave for the papal elections. In less than two weeks they agreed upon Cardinal Caraffa, who on May 23, took the name of Paul IV and ascended the papal throne. One of his first acts was to call Laynez back to Rome.

The days of the Jesuit Provincial at Florence were numbered. He knew at last that he could definitely sever the connections there that had weighed him down and sickened him for a long time, but he knew also that the departure would still be difficult. A papal command might mean a great deal to other Catholics, but to the Duchess it represented simply another insidious attack upon her morbid infatuation for Laynez. The Provincial had not even been willing to oblige her by sending a regular spiritual adviser to the St. Martha House for fallen women. This showed that he was ungrateful. The Jesuit General had allowed him to go to Germany when she needed him at Florence. This showed that the Society of Jesus was ungrateful. Now the Supreme Pontiff wanted to take him away for good; and this showed that the Church itself was ungrateful.

Eleanor threatened to dissolve the Florentine college and to banish Jesuits forever from her territories. She wrote to her uncle, John Alvarez de Toledo, cardinal of Compostello, but this prelate wisely did not insist when he discovered the mind of Paul IV in the matter.

<sup>11</sup> It was a discouraging report, and the only hopeful note he could add was the fact that the Protestants in Augsburg were themselves divided into four sects. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 268-70.

The halls of the ducal palace echoed with feminine wailings over Jesuit ingratitude, and even Ignatius' kindly letter assuring her that she must put the papal will above her own did not quiet her. The General sent James de Guzman to explain matters, but she sulkily refused to admit him, even after he had visited the palace a number of times.

That summer James Laynez breathed the fresh free air of Rome.

## CHAPTER XI

### *Threat of the Red Hat*

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It was the notable characteristic of Pope Paul IV that he allowed his emotions to be directed only toward individual persons and not toward things or groups of persons. He was not so much concerned with the Society of Jesus as an organization of religious men, dedicated to the progress of the Church, as some believed, or to its detriment, as others charged. He judged individuals according to some standard of his own. Laynez measured up to this standard, and thus won the wholehearted admiration and affection of the Pope. Ignatius Loyola did not, and thus found himself often in disfavor.

#### THE POPE AND THE JESUITS

Back in the days when he was Cardinal Caraffa, founder of the Theatine Order, the man who was now the head of the Church had been displeased with Ignatius. The latter seems to have criticized some aspects of the new order, and had presumed to offer advice about its operation. There were other differences of opinion between the two men during almost twenty years. Caraffa never contributed to the German College, which Julius III highly approved and almost all the other cardinals supported. He was further offended when Ignatius obtained the cancellation of a papal indult which the Cardinal had obtained for the removal of a certain young noble from the ranks of the Society. It caused a sensation in Rome.

When the news of Caraffa's election was brought to the Jesuit house, Loyola blanched and "trembled in all his bones." Gonzales de Camara, who recorded this fact, stated also that the General soon

got hold of himself and did everything in his power to placate the Pope.<sup>1</sup> He announced the election to the assembled community and praised the character and abilities of Caraffa. Bobadilla went to the Vatican and came back saying that the Pontiff was a changed man. Loyola himself then answered the papal summons and, to his grateful surprise, was greeted quite cordially. The Pope spoke favorably of some of the Jesuits to Cardinals Morone and Truchsess, and genuinely appreciated the fact that they were teaching Christian doctrine to the neglected and ignorant masses of Rome.

#### THE DIVINE OFFICE

In spite of the bright picture indicated by these words, difficulties appeared almost immediately. Ignatius was determined not to have his men chant the divine office in common as was done in other religious communities, and the year before he had objected to the Jesuits in Venice doing so. But the Pope was strict concerning the ancient customs of religious orders, and we find Ignatius ordering "of his own accord," as Polanco puts it, "that the evening office should be sung in our church on Sundays and feasts. Thus it seemed that the Pope would be satisfied and not demand any further chanting by the Society." Since the public came in to hear the office, Ignatius ordered that the singing should be harmonized in counterpoint to make it as pleasant and attractive as possible.

Ribadeneira, who likes to report the unusual, tells of a more serious difficulty occurring at this time. Most of the Jesuits at Rome were Spaniards and came in for their share of the anti-Spanish sentiment then sweeping Italy. It was rumored that they were gathering arms and ammunition in their secret vaults to be saved against the day when open hostilities should begin between Spain and Italy. In a hasty reversal to his earlier mistrust of Loyola, the Pope ordered a search made of the house by the Governor of Rome. The latter offered to take Ignatius' word that there were no weapons, but the Jesuit insisted that the whole place be searched from cellar to roof. The Governor disproved the rumor by finding nothing.

<sup>1</sup> The *Memoriale* written by De Camara in Portugal in 1573 is a collection of more or less random memories, and contains many interesting sidelights on the character of Ignatius. For these remarks, cf. the *Memoriale* as published in the *Scripta de S. Ignatio*, I, 198.



Such comic-opera incidents, however, were not present in the outright papal neglect of the Jesuits' German College. Even before receiving Laynez' report of the scandalous German clergy, Ignatius had been training German youths for the reformation of their own country. Almost immediately after Caraffa's election the contributions from the hierarchy fell off so sharply that even Cardinal Truchsess, zealous instigator and champion of the College, was ready to admit its failure. Loyola, who had the folly of a saint when it came to money matters, let it be known that the College would be maintained by the Society even if everyone else abandoned it. Through several lean years it barely clung to existence, until in 1558 Laynez himself put it on a fairly stable financial basis.

#### THE POPE AND LAYNEZ

If Paul IV tried to make difficulties for Loyola, he showed the directly opposite attitude toward Laynez. The Pope who put the Roman Jews in a ghetto, installed this Spanish Jew in his own palace. The man who mistrusted the Jesuit Loyola made the Jesuit Laynez his close confidant. The head of the papal territories who feared and hated the Spaniard, King Philip, loved and admired the Spaniard, Laynez, and wished to make him a cardinal. This treatment was enough to turn the head of any man, but Laynez showed rare agility in escaping honors. When the Pope had special quarters furnished for him in the Vatican and ordered him to use them, he obediently slept in the rooms one night, and thus satisfied his conscience that he had followed the Pope's orders.

There was plenty of work to be done in the carrying out of the Pope's determined plan for ecclesiastical reform, and one of the first things Laynez tackled under his direction was the question of simony. As early as 1537 Caraffa, Contarini, Simonetta, and Ginuccio, all cardinals, had been appointed by Paul III as a committee for the reform of the Roman Church. Caraffa and Contarini had been the rigorous pair, wishing to make a clean sweep of all ecclesiastical abuses, insisting that all spiritual functions, favors, and ministrations should be absolutely tax free. The other two cardinals were more indulgent in their views, holding that there was nothing simoniacal in the current system of receiving payment in the use of spiritual

powers. The Reform Committee therefore submitted divergent opinions, and the matter was pursued no further.

#### QUESTION OF SIMONY

Above all things Paul IV was a man of action. His intimate knowledge of Roman affairs coincided with his determination that reform must take place. As he told Navagero in the following year:

This has been in our thoughts for years, for we saw many things taking place in the House of the Lord which would horrify you. Everyone who desired a bishopric went to a bank, where a list was to be found, with the price of each, and in the case of an appointment as Cardinal it was calculated how best to draw profit from every slightest circumstance. As soon as God, without any effort on our part, had bestowed this dignity upon us, we said to ourselves: We know what the Lord requires of us; we must perform deeds, and pull out this evil by the roots. . . . Now we shall carry out this reform, even at the risk of our life.<sup>2</sup>

The question proposed by the Pope for investigation by Laynez and others was this: Whether it is permitted to receive some temporal benefit for the use of spiritual power. The treatise written in answer to this question is an excellent example of the Jesuit's intellectual dexterity and unbending moral integrity. Roughly and briefly we may divide his work into three distinct answers: (a) a cleric may accept money for his own livelihood in the ministry; (b) he may not accept it as a price put upon the use of his spiritual powers; (c) it is illicit to accept payment according to the current Roman method of graded taxation.

The first proposition was easy to make, and Laynez does not spend much time upon it. From the Old and New Testament he quotes texts to show that the priests were always entitled to their sustenance from the ministry. The Jews had contributed a tenth part of their income to the Levites, and Christ himself had said that the ministers of the Gospel should be given their support, "for the laborer is worthy of his hire." Several long quotations from St. Paul and a few citations from the Fathers clinch the point. Lastly, history proves that even the barbarians and the followers of superstitious religions, such as the Egyptians, supported their priests.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, XIV, 192 f.

Layneze is unequivocal in his denunciation of simony in the second division. Graces and spiritual faculties are infused or conceded to men by the Holy Spirit, and it is entirely wrong to sell these things. Again, to prove his point, he marshals the greatest authorities, especially St. Peter, whose condemnation of Simon the Magician gave rise to the use and meaning of the word "simony." The ancient Fathers provide almost unending arguments—Eusebius, Basil, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Tertullian, Hilary, Jerome, Bede, and Victor. "Besides these," says Laynez, "and other ancient Fathers and practically all the scholastic theologians . . . there are innumerable decrees in canon law from which it can be demonstrated that the selling of the use of spiritual power is absolutely forbidden. We shall mention only the headings of these decrees." He then recalls eighty-three separate canons to show that the official Church legislation is unquestionable in this regard.

Lest anyone might still be in doubt concerning the unlawfulness of simony, the author proceeds to rationalize the whole argument. It is a sin against God's liberality, as it would be if a prince invited his friends to a dinner and the servants then made them pay for the meal. It is a perversion of the spiritual power itself, for, as a tree is made to bear fruit, so also is this power meant for spiritual acts. It is gravely unjust because the seller is marketing something which does not belong to him. It is a wrong against the Church, for the simonist betrays and sells the Church itself. He causes great scandal when he treats sacred things as though they could be measured in money. Lastly, if it were permissible to buy and sell the use of spiritual things, would it not also be permissible to traffic in the sacraments and graces, the chalices and holy oils?

In the third proposition Laynez with determination sets his face against the system of fixed payments for favors received at Rome. Even if it is not in itself wrong, it has all the appearances of simony. To clarify the question, he makes several suppositions. The tax under discussion is something above and beyond the amount needed to pay the necessary expenses of the scribes, registrars, and so forth. The favor or indult, usually granted in the form of a document, is considered invalid until the payment is made. It is wrong not only to commit a sin but also to do something which is the occasion of sin or has the appearance of sin. It is illicit to accept even the necessities

of life if in so doing there arises scandal against the Gospel and its ministers. Lastly, in a case of simony it is not necessary that a man should consciously balance the money which he gives or receives with the Holy Spirit Himself, or with the favor or sacrament or anything else connected with it. The Pope himself, subject to Christ, even though he is pastor of Christ's flock, is not permitted to commit such wrongs.

At great length and from many sources the author conclusively proves that, where these suppositions are verified, a grave sin is present. At one point he touches upon a fact which sorely worried both Paul IV and himself. Because of this Roman practice, he says,

men are discouraged from good works. Many would erect hospitals, schools, and pious confraternities most useful to the Church, but they refrain from doing so because they know that everything must be arranged at Rome. Some withdraw also from union with the Catholic Church and the Apostolic See. If we can believe the Cardinal Bishop of Cambrasi, the Oriental peoples cut themselves off from the obedience of the Roman Pontiff because of severe censures and heavy exactions. And we see the northern peoples separated from the same obedience for the same reasons; and those who remain faithful are gradually drifting away.<sup>3</sup>

If there were only the Pope to convince of these things, Laynez need never have written his treatise on simony. But the Pope was himself trying to convince all ranking churchmen of the danger of these abuses. He published the findings of his theologians together with the evidence they had uncovered regarding the actual state of affairs at Rome. When some of the cardinals protested that this revelation was simply putting a weapon into the hands of hostile secular princes, Paul answered he would soon show that the simoniacal abuses by the princes were even worse and more numerous than those at Rome. He patiently listened to many other objections, some of the cardinals thoroughly defending pecuniary compensation for the exercise of spiritual powers. This divergence of opinion distracted him and for a while he thought of absolutely prohibiting the clergy from

<sup>3</sup> The quotations given from the *Tractatus de simonia* are taken from the carefully edited Latin version published by Grisar, II, 322-82. It was written originally in Latin and, as far as I can discover, has not been translated into any other language. Simony was so thoroughly repugnant to Laynez that he found it hard to control himself in the presence of anyone guilty of the sin. *Me declaré que temblaba cuando se querían confesar con él*, says Ribadeneira, *Vida*, p. 74; cf. Azagra, p. 35.



accepting any payments or donations at all for spiritual ministrations. But he decided to leave it to a Church council.

Meanwhile Laynez was in daily contact with the Holy Father and probably he assisted in the complete overhauling of the papal fiscal practices. To prove that he was in deadly earnest about this matter of reform, Paul IV began by pruning the revenues that came to himself personally. The new datary, Francis Bacodio, was instructed to grant all favors and indulgences gratuitously. This decisive action cost the Pope two-thirds of his income, a dangerous loss just then, since the Papal States were on the verge of war with Spain. But the unflinching Pope declared that he would deserve to be punished by God if he were afraid of poverty and want.

The reform of the monasteries was another program which His Holiness vigorously carried out. Here also Laynez was of some assistance; before leaving Florence he had discussed the reform of the conventuals with Duke Cosmo, who asked him to speak to the Pope about it. In July, 1555, he wrote to Salmeron, then at Florence, telling him of his conversation with the Pope and asking him to get the Duke to write personally to the Holy See. In August the Duke wrote back to thank him, and in the following month sent the requested letters (probably drafted by Salmeron), which Laynez was to hand to the Holy Father. The conventuals were soon replaced by the friars of the strict observance. The Duchess, of course, wanted Laynez to come over and personally supervise the change, but the latter was very happy to receive a strict command of obedience from the Pope not to leave Rome.

#### RUMOR OF LAYNEZ' CARDINALATE

Because of his loyal and intelligent assistance to the Holy Father, Laynez began to fear that his labors would be repaid with a cardinalate. In the autumn of 1555 the Pope let it be known that the Jesuit would be among those upon whom he would bestow this honor and the exacting duties he expected them to take with it. He had been so disappointed at the sluggish attitude of the cardinals toward his reform projects that he told them quite bluntly he could not depend upon them. He wanted good, learned persons who would work for the Church, and not for Venice or Spain or France, or any other country or monarch. No one would be appointed on the recommendation

of princes, prelates, or anyone else, but only on the score of known integrity, intelligence, and zeal for reform. He said that a group of capable cardinals could do more for the Church than a general council.

Without mincing words, Paul IV expressed most of these views at the consistory of December 18, 1555. Two days later he electrified the Christian world, and especially the politically minded prelates of Rome, by elevating seven men who were practically unknown. Scotti and Rebiba were both holy and efficient. Reumano and Capi-zuchi were the most learned canonists of the day. Diomede Caraffa had been an exemplary bishop for almost forty-five years. The German Gropper had saved the Church in Cologne, and the Spaniard Siliceo had been the zealous archbishop of Toledo. After this the appointment of a Jesuit, although the Pope was known to dislike the head of the Order, would not have come as a surprise.

But the Jesuit General had made good use of the forewarning received by Laynez; during the month previous to the actual date of appointments he had ordered prayers and Masses to avert this honor. Laynez himself wrote a statement which he distributed to his most influential friends. In this he asked them not only to pray but also to do something about this threat. He had vowed not to seek ecclesiastical preferment, he said, considered himself unworthy of such promotion, believed he could do more for God and the Church by remaining a simple religious priest, and he made all these remarks conscientiously after much meditation and prayer and the celebration of many Masses.

Cardinal Truchsess was then in Rome, and to him Laynez addressed a short letter in Italian, expressing much the same thing. He added that he fought off the honor as though it were a temptation of the devil, and asked him to intervene for him with all his power (*mi aiute con tutte le sue forze*). There is still another document extant, in which Laynez synthesizes the contents of the previous letters in a few lines, probably intended to be copied in great numbers and sent out to anyone who could dissuade the Pope from his action.

Neither Loyola nor Laynez was sure of the outcome and they both carefully planned what should be done in case these protestations failed. Unfortunately Polanco, who mentions this fact, does not reveal what they would have done if Paul IV had insisted on making the appointment. In recalling the affair at a later date, Ribadeneira

quotes St. Ignatius as saying to him: "If our Lord does not interfere, we shall have Master Laynez as a cardinal. But I guarantee you that if it does happen, it will occur with such a noisy clamor that the whole world will understand how the Society accepts these things." <sup>4</sup>

#### PREACHING IN ROME

In the end Paul IV respected the sincere wishes of the Jesuit and did not press the matter further. He used the Jesuit in all the important reform discussions that occurred during the first half of 1556, and Laynez, knowing the intense plans of the Pope, preached reform from the pulpit at every opportunity. Many cardinals and other leading men came to hear him speak on the Acts of the Apostles at the Jesuit Church. The resultant confessions were so many that an addition had to be built to the Church, where six or seven priests were continually employed in hearing confessions.

Twice a week he preached in Spanish at the Church of St. James, even though many people thought he spoke Italian better than his native tongue. The fruits of his persistent assaults on ecclesiastical abuses began to appear. One man offered to give up a benefice netting him annually five thousand ducats; another wished to do the same with a subsidy of two thousand ducats. Gradually the sermons took greater hold, and clerics who felt they had made unlawful gains handed over their funds so that he could make restitution for them. Benefices were shed like old clothes by repentant ecclesiastics.

It must not be thought, however, that the only sinners in Rome were the clergy. If Paul IV laid down the law for the cardinals and bishops, he also made the laity understand that the central city of Christendom was to be swept clean of vice. The governor of Rome issued an edict "which threatened truly draconian punishments," says Pastor, "such as the galleys, hanging, scourging, loss of property and banishment, for the moral abuses then prevalent in Rome." The carnival, which allowed maskers an opportunity for every kind of devilment, was to be strictly supervised. There were no half-measures in the resolute plans of the Pope.

<sup>4</sup> For Polanco's remarks, cf. *Chronicon*, V, 34. Laynez' three letters concerning the cardinalate are contained in the *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 281-84; the statement of Ignatius is in the *Scripta de S. Ignatio*, I, 373 f. It seems that as early as September, 1555, Laynez had been ready to flee to Naples in order to escape the cardinal's hat. Cf. *Epistolae Salmeronis*, I, 129.

## TREATISE ON COSMETICS

It is probably at this time, and in connection with the new papal policies, that Laynez wrote his masterly treatise on women's dress and cosmetics, *De fucu et ornatu mulierum*. Whether he composed it for his own use in the pulpit or as a guide book for other preachers of the Society, is not quite clear. Certainly it is one of the most carefully polished works of his pen, and gives indications of having been written for permanence rather than for the exigency of the moment, as so many of his other works were.

With the open immorality of "this corrupt age," as Laynez calls it, especially where foreign trade was enriching the cities, there had appeared a gradual laxity even among good Christian women. New kinds of dyes and cosmetics had been imported, precious stones and bizarre patterns of jewelry had come from the Orient, silks and rich cloths were in greater abundance than ever before. Laynez would have been blind not to notice the great changes that had taken place in women's apparel during the course of his own lifetime. That he was not blind is shown in the way he explains the extravagance and its effects, and gives the arguments that people employed to excuse it.

LayneZ is essentially the moralist in this treatise and he saves himself from the jibes of the so-called "modern critic" by following the rules of every good moralist. He defines his terms. Cosmetics pertain to the skin and hair; dress refers to gold, gems, and gowns; and the use of both can be either moderate or excessive. Circumstances alter the standard of judgment, "which varies with the times, and with the difference and condition of those who use it." Christian, Jew, religious, secular, noble, wealthy, poor, and so forth: all of these cannot be given one rigorous rule.

The author willingly concedes that in some cases women may paint and adorn themselves meritoriously; and he shows the example of Judith and Esther in the Old Testament, gives an argument from reason and the authority of St. Thomas. At other times women may sin venially in these affairs but, according to the opinion of Laynez, frequently they commit mortal sins; and he gives twelve distinct cases in which this is so. "If these things are prohibited to women," he continues, "who have less intelligence and, being soft creatures, may lawfully use soft garments . . . , it is much more to be prohibited to



men, who have more sense and are stronger by nature. Therefore we ought to deplore our age when both men and women commonly use perfumes and lotions, gold and jewels, silken, purple, and soft garments. They again put the purple mantle on Christ, and imitate the rich banqueter and that harlot seen by John."

It is surprising to note the severe strictures the writer passes upon the custom of his day. But it is also understandable to one who appreciates his highly trained philosophical mind. Everything must have a purpose, even the cult of self-beautifying. A woman curls her hair, covers her face with rouge, powder, and blue pencil, wears perfume and rich clothing for a definite reason: to keep her husband, to get a husband, or to inflame some other man, consciously or unconsciously, to lust after her. Laynez sees no other possibility. He is worried mostly about the spiritual aspect of all this, but he also uses what he calls rational arguments in maintaining that the excessive use of cosmetics causes dry skin and falling teeth and hair.

In all fairness to the great theologian and moralist, we must note that throughout the whole treatise he repeatedly goes back to Clement of Alexandria. Thus he throws the burden of proof on that ancient Father of the Church for some of the seemingly absurd statements he makes. But the work also shows a lack of originality and a penchant for making the most of long-approved authorities.

Characteristic of Laynez, however, are the remedies he suggests against the abuse of cosmetics and dress. Women should use soap and water, and forget about hair dyes and plucked eyebrows and rouge. A law should be passed to fix a top price on costly jewels and clothing. Adults should set an example to youth, flee from the vice of pride, meditate upon Christ crucified, upon death, hell, and the last judgment. If we do these things, we will avoid sin and punishment, and will shine brightly in eternity in vestments like the sun.<sup>5</sup>

Thus comes to an end the treatise which today has little value except as a quaint bit of historical lore. That it was urgent and powerful in its day, cannot be doubted. That the excesses which it describes were taken into serious consideration by Paul IV, can be shown from the thorough way he cleared the streets of Rome of excesses of every kind. Already at Easter, 1556, less than a year after Caraffa had been

<sup>5</sup> *De fuco et ornatu mulierum* is published in Grisar's collection and edited by him, II, 464-500.

raised to the pontificate and Laynez had begun to work for him, the city showed a completely new aspect. Unbending rigor is not always the best policy, but morality had got so far out of hand that severity was needed even against otherwise harmless luxuries and excesses in matters of dress.

Toward the summer of 1556 Laynez began again to show the strain of overwork. Almost as though he were bodily sympathetic with Ignatius Loyola, who had been ailing ever since 1554, when he appointed Nadal as his vicar, Laynez suffered recurrent attacks of fever. On June 11, the Jesuit General went into a definite decline, and handed over the details of government to his secretary Polanco and Christopher Madrid. He suspended the powers of Nadal because the latter was then in Spain.

#### DEATH OF LOYOLA

The stage was all set for the earthly departure of the Jesuit founder, Ignatius Loyola, though none of his confreres expected him to die just then. He had rid himself of an inexperienced physician, and had only recently discovered that the stomach ailment, for which he had vainly taken medicine for more than thirty years, was diagnosed as liver trouble. He did not consider this mistake a pleasantry. Perhaps he should have continued to take the wrong medicine. On July 30, 1556, he asked that someone go to the Vatican and obtain the Pope's blessing for him, but the request had been made so often before that his secretary begged leave to wait till the following day.

Laynez himself was at death's door, ready for extreme unction and the last consolations of the Church. Ignatius asked Polanco to petition the Holy Father for the same blessing and indulgence "for another member of the community," undoubtedly referring to Laynez. That night the great Loyola died in his sleep, unwatched and unaccompanied by any of his devoted spiritual sons. Laynez himself was too sick to know about his friend's death, and was not out of danger for two or three days afterward.

## CHAPTER XII

### *Layneze's Papal Friend*

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AS FAR as the Society of Jesus was concerned at the death of its founder, James Laynez was its man of destiny. What his own mind was on the subject of Loyola's successor will never be known to us; he must have been intellectually aware that the mantle of responsibility would inevitably fall on his shoulders, but he was also humble enough to realize that others could have carried it with quite an air. At any rate, he was in no condition to give the matter much thought at that time. On the very day of Loyola's funeral, he received extreme unction, and the prayers for the dying were recited over him.

#### LAYNEZ ELECTED VICAR-GENERAL

Almost immediately he showed some slight signs of improvement, and the men who were to choose the new vicar-general waited to see which way his condition would turn. There were only five professed Jesuits then at Rome: Polanco, Olave, Des Freux, Cogordan, and Laynez himself. According to the Constitutions, the vicar-general should be chosen as soon as possible after the death of the general. But these four men waited a few days to ascertain "whether it would please the divine Goodness to keep him [Layneze] in this life," as Polanco records. "Therefore after two or three days, when the doctors declared him out of danger we unanimously elected him vicar-general." This was on August 4 or 5, and on August 6 Laynez was already dictating letters from his sickbed as though it were the most natural thing in the world for him to be head of the Society.

Of the original companions of Ignatius Loyola, only five now sur-

vived him. Salmeron and Broet were too far distant from Rome to take part in selecting the vicar-general. Bobadilla was sick at Tivoli, and sent word that he would vote the same way as Polanco; Rodriguez was working among the plague-stricken at Venice and Padua. Laynez himself did not vote, saying he would agree with the selection of the others. Besides these five, there were spread throughout the eleven provinces of the Society only thirty-seven professed fathers, all of whom would have had a voice in the election had they been at Rome, or near it. These cold figures thus show that Laynez was chosen by a mere handful, that only four men, out of the forty-two eligible to vote, placed him in the position of authority.

Of course, the position was merely a temporary one, pending the convocation of a general congregation at which the general would be elected. But, in the contemporary and troubled state of affairs, no one knew when that congregation could be held, and it seemed that the Vicar would remain in power for some time to come. Laynez himself had no desire to prolong that period of waiting. A week after the death of Loyola, he was already ordering the time and place for the election, telling Borgia that the sooner it could be held the better, and that November, 1556, was set for the time, since it would take the fathers that long to come to Rome. The Constitutions allowed five or six months, but the Vicar wished to have it settled sooner than that.

Because of the difficulties of communication in the sixteenth century and because of a misunderstanding on the part of some of the Jesuits, there was for a while a threat of serious disagreement in the Society. When Ignatius died, the position of Nadal was an anomalous one. He had been appointed vicar twenty months before and had acted in that capacity everywhere except in Spain, where Loyola did not wish Borgia to be subject to Nadal's authority. However, when the news of Ignatius' death arrived, Nadal and Borgia talked the matter over and decided that the former should automatically assume authority as vicar. Nadal had already begun to make plans for the general congregation, speaking to most of the professed fathers in Spain and Portugal about it, when an overdue letter arrived from Rome announcing the selection of Laynez. Shortly afterward a further report came to the effect that the congregation would be postponed from November to the spring of 1557.

This was a crisis which only a large-souled man of the caliber of



Nadal could weather. He knew that Laynez was the most capable man of all and that technically he had been properly elected. But he had never questioned his own position, taking it for granted by all that he was Loyola's choice. He must have been embarrassed, too, in the presence of Jesuits toward whom he had acted as a man already employing the power of vicar-general. He might have been unwilling to step down for anyone but Laynez, for he later declared that "if Father Laynez is not the vicar, I am; and I possess signed patents from Father Ignatius."<sup>1</sup>

#### THE CONGREGATION OF THE SOCIETY

Nadal, however, was willing to abide by the decision of the men at Rome until the whole matter could be definitely settled at the first congregation. Not only would the general be elected, but the proper procedure for the selection of the vicar could also be determined. He demonstrated also his resolute prudence in going to Rome, where he arrived December 10, 1556. Already in October, Borgia had suggested that, because of the hostilities between Spain and the Holy See, it would be better to hold the congregation at Avignon rather than at Rome. Nadal knew well what Paul IV would think of that suggestion, and what a fatal mistake it would be for the Society to carry it out. A former duke, such as Francis Borgia, might easily talk in that fashion, but the experienced Jesuit knew that religious orders could not act independently of Rome, especially when Paul IV was Pope.

In the Eternal City, it seems that even the wise Laynez was being tempted to hold the congregation somewhere away from the zealous scrutiny of the Pontiff. It was not that he feared any disastrous papal move against the Society or any personal enmity against himself. Paul IV and some of the cardinals entertained notions different from those of Laynez. They had seen the despotism occurring in religious orders where generals were elected for life, and they wanted a time limit set upon the term of office. The Jesuits also should follow the ancient custom of singing the divine office in common, and should change their constitutions to that end.

But these were not the real reasons moving Laynez to contemplate Genoa or Loreto in Italy as the place for the meeting. Above all, he

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Epistolae Nadal*, I, 345 and II, 59.

desired that the assembled fathers should have independence both in their presence and in their voting. Most of the Jesuits in Rome were considered enemy aliens, and the Vicar doubted that the Pope would allow either these or the men coming from Spain to attend the congregation. Paul IV was at war not only with Philip of Spain but also with the King of France, and for that reason there may have been complications concerning the Jesuits coming from France. Laynez, therefore, really favored Genoa as the best place. But, says Manares, "when this was explained imprudently and in a distorted fashion to His Holiness, the Holy Father misinterpreted it, thinking that the idea was conceived and arranged as a trick and from a wrong motive. Therefore he forbade the congregation."<sup>2</sup>

The Vicar was too sick during the month of August, 1556, to make even the courtesy call required by his changed position, when he could have set the Pontiff's mind at rest about these rumors. When he did reach the Pope in September, the stories seem to have taken some effect. Laynez promised the devotion and obedience of himself and the whole Society to Paul IV and begged his blessing upon the impending congregation. The Pope willingly gave it and for a while spoke in the same friendly fashion that he had always used toward his great theologian. Then, as though he suddenly realized that this was a man who now held the place of Ignatius Loyola, he changed his attitude to one of sternness.

#### ATTITUDE OF PAUL IV

"Take care," said the Pontiff, "that you do not make any innovations in your way of life unless it is approved by the Holy See. If you try to do so, it will not go well with you." Just as he had told the cardinals that he would not be bound by previous customs or promises, he now assured Laynez that guarantees made by his predecessors to the Jesuits did not necessarily bind him. The Jesuits should come to the Holy See with their problems, putting their faith in God and not in the schemes of Ignatius; thus they would build upon stone and not upon sand.

It is clear that the memory of Ignatius Loyola rankled in the thoughts of this excellent Pope. His early aversions to the founder of

<sup>2</sup> The editors of the *Monumenta Ignatiana* add this remark as a footnote to Polanco's relation of the Pope's refusal. Cf. *Chronicon*, VI, 51.

the Society were not easily set aside, and he does not seem to have made any attempt to overcome them. Nadal states that he had made threats against Ignatius, saying that the latter controlled the Jesuits with a kind of hypnotic despotism, that his followers practically idolized him.<sup>3</sup> Polanco suggests that the Pope wished to carry out a long-contemplated fusion of his own order of Theatines with the Society of Jesus, a thing which Ignatius had always strenuously opposed. It would mean not only a union with these religious men, all of whom were doing tremendous work along the same lines of reformation, but also a definite change in the Institute of the Society. "Therefore it is not to be wondered that these things disturbed our Society."

In the event it was certainly fortunate for the Society of Jesus that the few fathers at Rome had immediately selected James Laynez as Vicar. Of all the Jesuits eligible for the post, he was the only one who had a real influence with Paul IV, the only one whom the Pope held in bonds of intimate friendship, so far as intimacy was congruous with one in that exalted position. There were difficulties, and there would be many more, but Laynez was always able to handle difficult situations in such a way that neither the Pope was offended nor the Society greatly altered.

Laynez had more than one occasion to step warily even before the end of 1556. His old friend, John de Vega, viceroy of Sicily, informed him that the troubled state of Italy made a congregation of the Society impossible there. He believed that Philip of Spain had been forced to defend himself in this war with the Supreme Pontiff, who was entirely at fault. If the Vicar would consent to hold the congregation at Bibona, in Sicily, he would guarantee him all financial support, and even military protection if necessary. His daughter Elizabeth, now Duchess of Bibona and the wife of Peter de Luna, promised that she and her husband would serve the fathers in every way possible if they would hold the meeting in Sicily.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Nadal always had some fear and mistrust of the former Cardinal Caraffa as a person, although he was ready to lay down his life for him as the Vicar of Christ. Cf. His *Epistolae*, especially II, 15, 50, 54.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth de Vega was a very religious woman. In this same year she wished Laynez to accept her as one completely subject to the obedience of the Society. The Vicar could command her as he did the members of the Society. Needless to say, Laynez recalled Loyola's troubles with would-be Jesuitesses and declined the offer. Cf. *Chronicon*, VI, 326 f. Cf. also *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 633-37, 653-55.

The answers to such requests had to be couched in the most guarded tones and above all they had to avoid even the least semblance of a disagreement with the views of the Vatican. Polanco, who was at the Vicar's side all the time and wrote most of his letters for him, had had years of experience in this kind of careful correspondence under Ignatius. Laynez himself was something of a diplomat. Between them they evaded direct answers by pointing out what they hoped to do at the general congregation. For instance, to De Vega, Laynez wrote that they were anxious to carry out the will of Ignatius in defining and clarifying certain problems of Jesuit government and in promulgating the Constitutions of the Order. Loyola had desired to see three things before he died: the confirmation of the Society and approval of the Spiritual Exercises by the Holy See, and the completion of the Constitutions. All three had been completed. But it was also his desire that the Constitutions should be voted upon and approved by the Jesuits themselves in a general congregation. He had shown it to most of them and gained their approbation at Rome in 1541, but only the universal agreement of their representatives would be conclusively satisfactory. This, besides the election of the general, would be the main work of the congregation.

As a matter of fact, the congregation would not be held until 1558, and Laynez would not be permanently elected general until July 2 of that year. In the meantime he was burdened with a double task: that of governing the Society of Jesus, in itself a large job, and that of making all preparations, settling problems, avoiding snares, for the approaching congregation. In handling the reins of government, he was charitable and prudent, patient and courageous; and at the same time he had to be somewhat severe because the unsettled and poorly defined authority of vicar-general gave certain Jesuits the temptation to act quite independently.

#### INTERNAL PROBLEMS

Internal problems of the Society were almost universal in their extension, and we can here mention only a few of those which Laynez attempted to solve during the interregnum. The chief one was the fear of a gradual and almost unnoticeable change in Jesuit customs



during the period of waiting, a change that might unduly influence the considerations of the congregation. For example, he knew that Loyola had been opposed to the chanting of the office as a steady practice by Jesuits. Thus Laynez admonished the rectors at Prague and Vienna that they were to eliminate the chant in the College churches, if this could be done without causing scandal.

Daily letters of advice and instruction went out to Jesuits everywhere. Some of the priests at Ameria were regularly hearing the confessions of religious women. This is entirely alien to our way of doing things, said Laynez; they could do it once or twice when necessary, but they must avoid it as a steady occupation. Certain vagrant priests were claiming membership in the Society bestowed upon them by the deceased Loyola. Laynez warns all rectors not to be tricked by these men, and to treat them like the impostors they were.

He was forced also to ask the help of his special friends and patrons and of the rectors of Italian colleges in the matter of protecting Spanish scholastics, seminarians, and students. Occasional anti-Spanish riots at Rome threatened danger to these young men and also to the Roman College, where they resided. This school was in a sense the seminary of the whole Society, and any outbreak detrimental to it would likewise harm the rest of the Society. In this and in other less serious matters, Laynez followed the epistolary habits of Ignatius, writing numerous letters to express gratitude for any favor no matter how small. At the same time he tried to placate enemies and to foster friends for the Jesuits. In the first few months as vicar-general he sent out more than twenty-five letters which give direct proof of his energy and zeal in this regard.

During 1557, Laynez, with the continued assistance of Polanco, slipped so easily into the routine of governing the Society of Jesus that this period seemed nothing more than a smooth continuation of the reign of Ignatius Loyola. The reason for this condition is found in both Polanco and Laynez. The former, in his many years as secretary to the saintly founder, had so thoroughly learned his ideas and expressions that one can hardly tell the difference between letters written by Ignatius and those written by Laynez. The latter had been so totally sympathetic with the Ignatian scheme of government that he could practically duplicate it.

## LAYNEZ AS VICAR

Among the Jesuits themselves there obviously remained the same defects and the same excellent qualities, the same vigilance in superiors and the same zeal for the promotion of the religious life among subjects. Laynez was determined that the Constitutions should be observed and guarded in the same manner as when their author was alive. He kept a careful eye especially on the most prominent Jesuits and did not hesitate for a moment to reprehend freely even great men like Canisius, for negotiating with Cardinal Truchsess without his consent; Father Helm, rector at Venice, for receiving a certain priest who had no credentials; Kessel, rector at Cologne, for not informing him of the precise nature of a transaction made with the magistrates of that city. Recalcitrant members of the Society were given every means to improve themselves; but if they could not be corrected, the Vicar expelled them.

Men outside the Society were fully aware of Laynez' great reputation, his closeness to Paul IV, his undoubted abilities in both practical administration and scholarly projects. Some of them apparently esteemed him even more highly than they had regarded Loyola; and everyone asked his help. Francis Mendoza, cardinal of Burgos, wrote: "You will do a great service to God and will render singular service and consolation to me by sending a priest who can preach to us during Lent, and I am sure that the man you approve and send will have a very fruitful ministry." Ferdinand I, king of the Romans, wrote a gracious letter of thanks to Laynez for his sending Canisius and Gaudan to Germany. The cities of Tournai and Montepulciano asked him to staff colleges for them. The professors of the Academy at Padua informed him that they were opening a new school and wished the Jesuits to take it over.

As the prime instigator of the Jesuit scheme of education, Laynez made use of his new position to guarantee the progress of the schools. The letters he sent out during 1557 show the steady contact which he maintained with the colleges at Ingolstadt, Billom, Tournai, Bologna, Ferrara, Florence, Modena, Perugia, and elsewhere. His correspondence with the rectors of these places was concerned not merely with educational problems. Most of these men asked his advice about moral and theological questions, and from his careful

answers there could be published a practical treatise on cases of conscience. There is probably no sacrament, no commandment, or precept of ecclesiastical law in which Laynez did not in some way solve a case. From marriage problems to restitution, from the reading of heretical books to the manner of administering the paschal Communion, he ranges over the whole large moral field, giving accurate answers to difficult problems.<sup>5</sup>

The amazing part of all this activity is that the Vicar was forced to do it while giving more than half his attention to the forthcoming congregation. Complication followed complication until the whole affair became almost a tragedy of conflicting errors, and all the while Laynez was supposed to keep an unruffled disposition, maintain domestic order, please both the Pope and the Pope's enemies. In the previous November, Canisius and Lanoy, who had come as far as Padua, returned to Germany upon learning that the congregation was postponed. But in the spring of 1557 they came with Gaudan to Rome. Present also were Broet and Viola from France, Kessel and Adriaenssens from Belgium, Domenech and Vink from Sicily, Rodriguez from Venice; Ribadeneira from Flanders. Many of the others, like Nadal, Bobadilla, and Cogordan, were already at Rome; but the important delegation from Spain had not yet arrived, and this fact promised a long delay.

#### PLACE FOR HOLDING THE CONGREGATION

The situation had begun to take on a brighter aspect during the truce between Paul IV and Philip II, but in the spring of 1557 the Duke of Guise brought a French army into Italy to help the Pope. This infuriated the King of Spain, who not only reopened hostilities against Rome but issued a formal edict forbidding anyone to go to Rome. The Spanish Jesuits who were to go to the congregation had already gathered at Alcala, and were there when the edict was announced. Thus, instead of sending the delegated fathers, Borgia sent a letter to Rome explaining their impasse and suggesting a different place of meeting. His fellow Jesuits, Araoz, Vaz, Porres, and Busta-

<sup>5</sup> For a list of these problems treated by Laynez during 1557, cf. the Index of *Monumenta Lainii*, Vol. II, under the heading, *casus conscientiae*. References to all the other matters mentioned above and discussed by Laynez in his letters during this year, can readily be found in the same Index.

mente, who were to represent the Spanish provinces, agreed in this suggestion.

The idea proposed by the Spaniards was a dangerous one to toy with, but Laynez called together the Jesuits already present at Rome for the congregation and asked their judgment. Opinions differed among them. Three courses were open to them: (a) postpone the congregation till a more favorable time; (b) hold it at Rome without the Spaniards; (c) go to Spain and hold it there. Nadal had changed from his earlier contention and now vehemently insisted that they go to Spain, offering many arguments in favor of this. Laynez scarcely committed himself on the question, merely indicating his readiness to do whatever they decided upon.

The reasons for remaining at Rome were carefully weighed. This first congregation should be held under the eyes of the Pope since it would later be considered a kind of precedent for future congregations. If it were convened in another country there would be a possible enmity arising from the ground of national pride and prejudices. Loyola had determined upon Rome as the center of the Society just as it was the center of the Church, and it was not proper that a general congregation, the most important activity of a religious order, should be conducted away from headquarters. Polanco summed up the arguments of all, and himself remained undecided, although he seemed to lean to the view of Nadal.

It was decided not to go to Spain, but the fathers suggested that when Laynez next spoke to the Holy Father about some other business, he should casually mention this, so that he could merely sound the Pope on it. The Vicar did this as tactfully as possible, and the Pope's reaction was unmistakable. "Go to Spain if you wish," said Paul IV, "but what are you going to do in Spain? Do you want to bow to the schism and heresy of Philip?" Smilingly, Laynez denied any such desire.

This should have settled the matter definitely, but it was at this point that Borgia's letter arrived. Starting from the beginning, the fourteen fathers again discussed the whole question. Except for Bobadilla and Rodriguez, who neither wished to go to Spain nor to mention it again to the Holy Father, the rest agreed with Laynez: that they would not incline to any decision until he spoke again to the Pope and found out his decision. The Vicar brought the letter to



Paul IV, who received him in the old familiar fashion, discussed papal as well as Jesuit business with him. Regarding the departure to Spain he said he would commend it to God in his prayers, and asked Laynez to do the same, and then to call at the Vatican in a few days.

But the few days lengthened into many weeks before Laynez could obtain an audience with the Pope. He returned to the Vatican as ordered, and then repeated the visits on many occasions but was not admitted. Finally, on June 20, 1557, in one of the entrances of the Vatican he saw the Pope coming toward him with several persons of rank. Laynez held himself in a respectful and expectant attitude and was undoubtedly seen by the Pontiff, who ignored him completely. Thinking that he would be sent for, he waited vainly in the ante-chamber. Finally he asked Cardinals Scotti and Reumano to petition Paul for an interview; and they returned in a short time with the papal answer in the form of three demands. He was to hand over the Constitutions and Rules of the Society, all the pontifical documents ever given in favor of the Jesuits, a list of the names of all Jesuits then living at Rome.

Layneze was dismayed at this turn of events and especially at the surly way in which his great friend made these demands, but he lost no time in fulfilling them. According to Nadal, the Jesuit house became a riot of rumors and memories, recalling the differences that existed between Loyola and Caraffa, examining more recent occurrences to see where they might have offended the Pope. "In the end," he remarks, "we could discover nothing which could have antagonized him against us so vehemently and so suddenly; and we consoled ourselves that everything would be all right and that it all came from the great zeal of the Pontiff."

#### BOBADILLA

If they were looking for the trouble-maker, however, they did not have to go far to find him. From the very beginning, says Nadal, "Bobadilla objected to the Society being governed by a vicar, claiming that the first professed and the first companions of Ignatius who were named in the original confirmation of the Society should not be kept from ruling it. He turbulently and seditiously led four other professed to the same opinion, Broet, Rodriguez, Viola, and Adrienssens." On September 7, 1557, he gave the same opinions when

interrogated under oath by Cardinal Michael Ghislieri, learned Dominican who later became Pope Pius V.

In this same interrogation Bobadilla proceeded to air his other views concerning the Society and its current Vicar. The Constitutions needed drastic revision because they contained many superfluous details, things that were difficult and intolerable, and against the wishes of the Holy See. In a word, they were a labyrinth. There were domestic discords about whether Laynez was vicar by right, or merely by sufferance. He himself believed that he was a usurper, because a learned man had so advised him, because the papal bulls did not speak of a vicar, because the Constitutions were still in a state of flux. Finally Bobadilla swore that the first founders should govern together with Laynez until a general could be elected.<sup>6</sup>

Bobadilla had another strong supporter, and Laynez another difficulty in the person of Father Cogordan, a disgruntled Frenchman, whom Nadal describes as "an ardent worker, whose head was hardened by activity: otherwise a useful priest." He had done inestimable service for the Society in France but he was ambitious and not fully trained to the idea of religious humility. Ignatius had refused him the profession of four vows, and this fact rankled in his heart for years. When Bobadilla freely expressed his views among the Jesuits at Rome, one of his most receptive listeners was Cogordan.

He seems to have been the reason why Paul IV turned from Laynez in the first place. He brought the cardinals a memorandum for the Pope, in which he stated that Laynez and the others wished to go to Spain to get away from papal authority and to regulate the Society according to their own fancy. It was soon after this that the Pope demanded all the official documents of the Society.

LayneZ called the fathers together and explained to them the gravity of the situation and asked special prayers and penances from them. He ordered each Jesuit priest to celebrate three Masses for the happy outcome of this embarrassing difficulty, and appointed the well-informed Polanco and the prudent Nadal to convince the rebellious men of their error. Broet, Viola, Rodriguez, and Adriaenssens soon

<sup>6</sup> The report of this examination by the Cardinal is published as though taken down by a stenographer. Cf. Nadal's *Epistolae*, IV, 109-11. All the available documents concerning this interesting, and almost disastrous, dispute are reproduced in the same place. For Nadal's own vivid account, see his *Ephemerides*, or diary, contained in Vol. II of the *Epistolae*, pp. 1-97.

shifted their views to coincide with those of the majority; but Cogordan and Bobadilla were not to be persuaded.

Bobadilla gathered together a number of accusations against Laynez, Nadal, and Polanco, which he seems to have presented to Cardinal Ghislieri. On a dozen counts he charged that this trio acted in a way that was puerile, stupid, impassioned, perfidious, and scandalous. They acted separately and secretly on matters that should be settled only by a congregation; they ordered penances and litanies (when Paul showed his displeasure) as though they had fallen into the hands of a tyrant; they published their troubles at home and abroad; and worst of all, they blamed others for this bad government of which they were themselves the cause.<sup>7</sup>

In July, 1557, Laynez wrote a formal request to the Holy Father for an examination of himself and the others against whom these charges were made. He asked also that the Constitutions of the Society and all the other documents be carefully scrutinized. Nadal, too, sat down to write a little memorandum of his own addressed to Bobadilla, in which he flings the charges right back at him. He was the disturber of the peace, the man who wished to fill the giant shoes of the founder, the man who gave bad example to his fellow religious. Furthermore, Nadal was his superior for three years and could bring out a great many unpleasant facts about Bobadilla, if the latter did not retract.

Cardinal Pius Carpi, the protector of the Society of Jesus, was called in to settle the dispute. On August 9, 1557, he called the men together and told them that the government of the Society, until the election of a permanent general, should remain in the hands of James Laynez, who should consult occasionally with the professed fathers at Rome. Bobadilla was still dissatisfied and asked that the Pope appoint some other cardinal to investigate the matter.

Laynez finally obtained an audience with Paul IV, and explained the whole matter in the clearest terms possible. He was eager and willing, however, that Cardinal Ghislieri should go through with the contemplated investigation, examining not only the documents but each of the Jesuits separately. Accordingly, the Cardinal came to the Jesuit house in the first week of September and went over the whole matter very carefully, examined each of the men, and held the recorded questioning of Bobadilla on the seventh of the month. When he dis-

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 117-23.

covered the petty nature of the complaints made by Bobadilla against Laynez, Nadal, and Polanco, he wished to dismiss the whole matter as unworthy of attention by the Pope.

#### CONSENT OF PAUL IV

When Paul IV heard his report, and had received also the report about the Constitutions and papal bulls, he removed all prohibitions from the proposed congregation. As far as he was concerned, they could convene anywhere. The Constitutions were returned to Laynez without alterations or any suggestions of improvements. Before this decision was given, however, Laynez had offered the two rebels a chance to leave the city, wishing perhaps to protect them in case Paul IV thought them worthy of punishment. He sent Bobadilla to Foligno where he worked zealously and successfully in the reform of a certain convent. Cogordan went to Assisi, where he, too, returned to a fruitful ministry and escaped the wrath of Cardinal Ghislieri.

It is quite probable that another factor helped to change the spirits of the Pope. This was the peace made between himself and Philip of Spain on September 14, 1557. A great burden of worry was thus lifted from his mind as it was from the minds of the Vicar and his fellow Jesuits. Nothing would now stand in the way of the congregation. Nothing would prevent the Spanish representatives from coming into the papal territories. A new date was set for May, 1558. Until that time Laynez continued to perform the ordinary and extraordinary tasks of vicar-general.



## CHAPTER XIII

### *General of the Jesuits*

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DURING the first few months of 1558 Laynez still hoped that the general congregation could be opened at the beginning of May. On March 18 he wrote to the professed fathers in Flanders, telling them that the election of the new Jesuit general would take place about the time of Pentecost, and that the provincial of each province, together with two professed fathers, should be at Rome at the designated time.<sup>1</sup> Even as late as April 23 he wrote to Everard Mercurian, himself a future general of the Society of Jesus, mentioning those he expected at Rome in the following month.<sup>2</sup>

But difficulties and delays seemed to be almost inevitable, so that Laynez was unable to open the first meeting until June 19. Although peace had been signed between the Pope and the warring monarchs, both Spain and France were reluctant to allow Jesuits to travel to Rome. In the solution of this problem, John de Vega again came to the aid of the Jesuit Vicar. He gained permission from Philip II for the Spaniards and Portuguese, and obtained the intercession of Cardinal Trivulzio to get a safe-conduct for them from the King of France. The way then seemed clear, but at the last moment the three most important Jesuits in Spain—Borgia, Estrada, and Bustamante—were stricken with illness. By the time they were again physically able to travel, the congregation was over.

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenta Lainii*, III, 195. The number of representatives from each province had already been designated in the Constitutions by Ignatius Loyola. The same procedure is still in use.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259. The four who were to come from Germany were Mercurian, Adriani, Kessel, and Gaudan. Of these only Mercurian was actually present for the election.

## PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTION

Finally, at the end of almost two years of preparatory work, of arguments and bickerings and postponements, the twenty representatives of the Society settled down to the business at hand.<sup>3</sup> The decisions of the first day were these: the group was to be considered complete and authoritative even without those who had failed to appear; the only one still to be admitted was Father Barma, then near the end of his journey from Aragon to Rome. The next day no meeting would be held, to allow Laynez and Salmeron to visit Paul IV to obtain his blessing and advice for the whole congregation.

The Pope was in excellent spirits when Laynez and Salmeron presented themselves at the Vatican. He spoke to them in a most kindly manner, expressed interest in the Jesuit problems, and asked that they keep him informed on the progress made throughout the congregation, especially regarding the election of the general. Laynez interpreted this last remark as an indication of the Pope's inquisitiveness about the method to be followed in the election. Accordingly, on the next day, June 21, he asked the fathers to prepare a list of instructions which were to guide them in their choice.

The instructions thus prepared were nothing less than a searching inquiry into the qualifications of the future general. Was he devout and zealous for the cause of God, the Church, and the Society? Was he free from the vices of ambition and anger? Was he learned, capable of governing, affable, healthy, experienced, edifying in his conduct, well-thought of by Jesuits, ecclesiastics, and laymen? In other words, the future general of the Jesuits had to be as nearly perfect as it was possible for a human being to be.

Paul IV approved fully of this prospectus, for he probably foresaw that the man therein described was James Laynez. He turned it over to four cardinals for their inspection and received their approbation. Several other headings had been attached concerning the way in which men aspiring to the general's office would be treated. The cardinals thought the Jesuits were somewhat too rigorous in this matter.

Nadal records his own unwitting involvement in a suspicion of

<sup>3</sup> The twenty men present were Laynez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, Rodriguez, and Broet (the only living members of Loyola's original band), Barma, Camara, Canisius, Domenech, Goyson, Lanoy, Mercurian, Miron, Nadal, Pelletier, Plaza, Polanco, Torres, Vaz, and Vinck.





/ Diego Zapner /

Picture now in the Jesuit Residence of the Gesu, at Rome



desiring the Society's highest office. Salmeron told Laynez of a rumor to the effect that Nadal had obtained supporters for his own candidacy. The Vicar called together several of the fathers, including Nadal, and asked them about it. "Nadal said he did not know what others were saying about him, nor did he care. The fathers could believe what they wished; he himself was not going to be disturbed about the rumor, and was willing to call God to witness that it was untrue." Mercurian and the others testified that they knew nothing of it, so that Laynez dropped the whole affair.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE ELECTION

If ever an assembly of men insisted upon the democratic process it was this group of Jesuits in the summer of 1558. Everyone had full opportunity to speak his mind, and everyone used it in the orderly manner that characterizes alertly intellectual men with a love for their organization. In the seven meetings held up to June 28 all possible contingencies had been discussed and settled, even to the decree that the votes cast in the election of the general would be saved for reference until the end of the congregation, and then burnt. The men were leaving no loopholes for chicanery and future disaffection.

On July 2, after four days of prayer, fasting, and penance, during which no one was permitted to leave the house, the twenty Jesuits convened for the election in the room where St. Ignatius had died. Peter Canisius delivered a short sermon or exhortation, after which all meditated in silence for an hour. Then Cardinal Pacheco, appointed by the Pope to be present for this important action, spoke briefly, advising them to choose a man of approved life and sound doctrine. He added that the Holy Father did not seem to favor the election of a general for life, but allowed them entire freedom to do what they wished on this point.

The folded ballots containing the choice of the electors were then scrutinized in the presence of the Cardinal, and it was found that Laynez received thirteen votes, Nadal four, and Broet, Lanoy, and Borgia each received one. Since a simple majority was sufficient to decide the election, Paschase Broet, the oldest of the professed fathers, then proclaimed James Laynez duly elected as general of the whole

<sup>4</sup> Nadal writes of himself in the third person throughout his *Ephemerides*. Cf. *Epistolae Nadal*, II, 61.

Society of Jesus. All immediately pledged their fealty to the new superior and intoned the *Te Deum* in grateful praise of God.

The congregation was interrupted for three days of festivities, and messages and visits of congratulations made Laynez realize that everyone considered his election an advantage to the Church and the Society. He was the center of attention at the various public affairs and disputations held in his honor. On July 3, eight cardinals and most of the leading men of Rome gathered for a Latin discourse, and a long theological disputation, at the end of which a young student told in Latin hexameters his experiences at the Roman College, and described the program of the following day. July 4 was taken up in further debates on various philosophical and theological questions, and in several scientific and literary discourses. At all the entrances to the hall there were suspended laudatory poetical compositions in all the principal languages of the civilized world. On the last day there were speeches in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Then the lay students of the College presented one of those highly applauded theatrical performances for which the Jesuits later became famous.<sup>5</sup>

"On July 6," relates Nadal, "the whole congregation was admitted to the presence of Paul IV, who spoke to us in a benign and generous manner, confirming the election of the general and calling that election pious and canonical. He praised the origins of the Society, its growth in numbers and effectiveness. Once or twice he called the Society blessed and recalled that before becoming Pope he had helped her and would now continue to do so. Then His Holiness seriously exhorted us to carry the cross of Jesus, for in His name and in support of the Church we would be called to strenuous labor, contumely, persecution, and even death. Three times he gave his blessing to us who were present, and once for all the members of the Order. He officially approved all the favors, indulgences, and privileges, spiritual and temporal, which we had received either from himself or from other popes."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately for the historian the contents of these speeches, debates, poems, and public displays have not been preserved. Knowing the temper of the people and the customs of the times, we may well guess that they were filled with extravagant encomiums of Laynez, the Jesuits, and everyone even remotely connected with them. Some of the earlier biographers of Laynez said that the celebrations were extended over a period of eight days, but Nadal says clearly: *consecutae triduo disputationes*.

<sup>6</sup> Nadal here lapses into the first person in his narrative. "I said a few words about the Society and the election, remarking that everything was under the will and the

Most of the discussions that took place during the ensuing meetings of the congregation obviously belong to a history of the Jesuits rather than to the personal biography of Laynez. It must be noted, however, that he was as insistent as anyone that the Constitutions of Ignatius Loyola should be kept substantially as they were written. The congregation would give them the force of law for the Society, and would interpret and change only minor details. Even the Latin translation made by Polanco was minutely compared with the original Spanish of Loyola, and it was not to be published except with the General's consent.

One innovation which concerned Laynez personally was the further division of the Society into assistencies, each having one permanent representative at Rome, and each comprising several provinces and missions. Loyola had never dreamed of the universal extension of his followers throughout the world, and had chosen his own assistants as he needed them. The four official assistants to the General were Jerome Nadal for the northern countries, Christopher Madrid for Italy, John Polanco for Spain, and Gonzales de Camara for Portugal, Brazil, Ethiopia, and the Indies.

#### TENURE OF OFFICE

Paul IV was kept informed of all decrees as they were made by the Jesuits, and seems to have been waiting particularly for their decisions concerning the general's term of office and the chanting of the canonical hours. The twenty-sixth decree approved the Constitution's prohibition of common chanting, even the Gregorian, and would allow the singing of High Mass only on Sundays and feasts. The thirty-third decree made the office of general a perpetual one, but the Jesuits, knowing the mind of the Pope on this matter, accompanied the decree with an explanatory letter to His Holiness.

This letter to Paul IV was signed on August 13 by all the members of the congregation except Canisius and Pelletier, who were absent, and Laynez, who thought it was more fitting that the General himself should not subscribe to it. The letter said, in substance, that the Jesuits had interpreted His Holiness' kind words at the time of the

authority of His Holiness. Paul again blessed us, and designated three cardinals . . . through whom we could obtain easy access to him" (*ibid.*, pp. 62 f.).



election as a mark of approval of all that had been done. Cardinal Pacheco had been present at the election and had given them to understand that they would be perfectly free in fixing the term of office according to their own determinations. Cardinal Scotti, however, had recently remarked that there was still some papal hesitation about the matter, and recommended that they give prayerful thought to it. "When the question was proposed several times in the congregation," continues the letter, "we all agreed unanimously, without a single dissenting voice, that it would be better for our Society if the general were not changed as long as he lives. In spite of this, however, we remain your obedient sons and are most ready to do whatever Your Holiness shall command. Since Your Holiness may wish to be informed of our opinion we have signed our names below, always subjecting ourselves to your own judgment."

It seems that the fathers anticipated the intervention of the Holy Father by almost two weeks. On August 24, Cardinal Scotti sent a formal communication to the congregation asking them to deliberate again on the two points of chant and the general's term of office. This they did, and again came to the same conclusion, now dating their joint letter to Paul IV on August 30. They considered that the bulls of Paul III and Julius III, dispensing them from choir and granting perpetuity to the generalate, justified them in their decision, particularly since the reigning Pontiff had issued no explicit command.

#### WRATH OF THE POPE

On Tuesday, September 6, Laynez and Salmeron went to the Vatican to deliver this letter and to explain the situation to the Pope. But the letter was not delivered. In fact, before they could open their mouths to speak, they were surprised by an angry monologue from Paul IV. Hardly concealing his displeasure, he uttered several invectives against Ignatius Loyola, who had governed the Society tyrannically. Like the other orders, the Jesuits should elect their general every three years, and obtain approval from the Apostolic See each time. Raising his voice in an excited manner, he said that they were rebellious and disobedient in refusing to hold choir. This smacked of the actions of heretics and he feared greatly that some day a devilish heresiarch would be nurtured by the Society. To chant the office in common was essential to the religious life, and was according to the divine



will. King David had said "Seven times a day I praised you, and in the middle of the night I arose to confess to you." He would not admit that Jesuit activity was a valid excuse from choir. Even as pope, he himself found time to chant the divine office in common with the Cardinal of Naples.

While kneeling before His Holiness, and watching this unexpected display of temper, Laynez remained as quiet and composed as possible. He knew Paul's character intimately and was certain that he could allay all papal suspicions. When the Pope finally allowed him to speak, Laynez said that he did not desire the office of general for life, for three years, or even for a day, and would willingly give it up at a moment's notice. But the fathers of the congregation thought they were acting in conformity with the Pope's desires, especially since His Holiness had, on July 6, praised their choice.<sup>7</sup> Regarding the second point, the Jesuits were commonly considered the greatest enemies of the heretics, and were being persecuted even then as papists. No Jesuit could be called an apostate, and all Jesuits were willing to follow the explicit will of the Pope.

Before Laynez had finished speaking, the Pope regained his composure. The General used his best rhetoric, but the most he could obtain was a promise that Cardinal Alphonsus Caraffa would communicate the papal orders to the congregation within a few days. Paul IV then reverted to his old friendliness toward Laynez, granted him permission to build a church, blessed a number of rosaries for him, and gave him some religious objects (*Agnus Deis*) for the fathers returning to their provinces.

On the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady, Cardinal Caraffa delivered the Pope's official command concerning the two points in question; and two days later the congregation formally adjourned. There could no longer be any doubt about the Pope's mind in the matter, and the Jesuits bowed to his explicit order. The Constitutions were already in print and almost ready for publication, but at the end there

<sup>7</sup> The audience granted by Paul IV to the fathers of the congregation on July 6, 1558, is described in a document contained in the Appendix of *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 665-69. Immediately following this is the letter of August 30, sent by the congregation, but never delivered by Laynez. Also in the same volume (pp. 673-75) is an account, signed by Laynez and Salmeron, of the audience in which the Pope spoke to them so harshly. Finally, there is a detailed description of the election and its aftermath, written by Polanco on July 16, 1558, and called by the editors of the *Monumenta*, *aurea sane epistola*. Cf. III, 391-401.

was added a page giving the papal order regarding choir and the limitation of the general's term of office.

In the event, the Jesuits were forced to follow these commands for less than a year. They were personal regulations made by an individual pope, and, since they were never formally promulgated as ecclesiastical law, they were considered to have lost their binding force upon the death of Paul IV in August, 1559. According to the opinions of the best Roman canonists, consulted at this time by Laynez, the Jesuits were quite free to disregard both orders upon the death of the man who gave them.

#### PAUL IV'S ORDERS REVOKED

A question of this kind cannot be fully understood without an understanding of the character of Paul IV. Zealous as he was for the reform of the Church in general and of the religious orders in particular, he was not abreast of the times in many of his views. In some matters he was positively medieval in outlook, as, for example, in his political maneuvering on behalf of the Church against Spain and France. Toward the end he listened to every whisper of intrigue and untruth, and carried on a practical persecution against all suspects. He imprisoned the pious and efficient Cardinal Morone, while at the same time he was completely and sincerely unaware of the licentious profligacy of his own nephew, Cardinal Charles Caraffa.

Under such conditions it is not a matter of wonder that Laynez interpreted Paul's orders as he did. If the order had been a law, it would have remained in force until revoked by some future pontiff. Evidently Paul had no intention of making his command an ecclesiastical law for he did not revoke the contrary permissions granted by Paul III and Julius III, nor did he have the measure promulgated according to the prevailing legal forms. Laynez took all of this into consideration when the Jesuits gave up choir in the following year and when he himself brought up the matter of the general's term of office three years later. The next pope, Pius IV, set his mind entirely at rest by expressly revoking the two orders of Paul IV, and confirming again the Constitutions of the Society.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Sometime between August 15 and December 25, 1559, when the Holy See was vacant, Laynez drew up a statement before a public notary, declaring that he believed the

## CHORAL RECITATION OF THE OFFICE

During the winter of 1558-59 the Jesuits at the Roman residence grimly carried out the papal edict regarding choir. "Each one practiced it in private for a while," says Nadal, "then we began to sing all the canonical hours in chorus, according to the Theatine manner, and as Paul had ordered. We did it without the usual ecclesiastical modulation, that is, in one tone of voice, with only the last syllable being somewhat contracted. This is the choir, as practiced in our house, and not in the college or in any other residence of the Society, so far as I know."

Thus the practice of choir did not seem to cause any great disturbance in the routine of the Jesuit General and his community. It was probably not the most beautiful chanting ever heard in divine worship, and, since it was done in an amateur way, it took more time than they expected. But it pleased the Pope—a great advantage in that riotous year. "During that period," notes Nadal, "His Holiness frequently summoned Father General, and treated him most graciously. He promised to give the foundation for a college and to buy us a residence, but warned us not to reveal this fact lest the price go up." To this Nadal added the dry comment: "But he did not live long enough."<sup>9</sup>

It was well that Laynez held the esteem and the respect of Paul IV, for no man could be in papal disfavor and still be actively engaged at Rome. The Jesuit General was no recluse. With the excellent cooperation of his four newly appointed assistants, he could get through his administrative duties with a minimum of drudgery. Out into the churches of Rome he went to give an active example of the type of work he wished his fellow Jesuits to perform. He was as much as ever in demand as a popular preacher, as is attested by a letter from his secretary at the end of November, 1558: "Our Father General is in mediocre health, but he preaches on Sundays and feasts."

practice of choir was contrary to the Jesuit Institute and that he did not consent to it unless obliged to do so by law. For a copy of this document, cf. *Monumenta Lainii* VIII, 676-80. For Borgia's opinion, cf., in the *Monumenta historica S. I.*, *S. Franciscus Borgia*, III, 576. When the same problem came up again in 1572, Nadal wrote a clear defense of the Society's actions in his *Tractatus de Professione et Choro*, addressed to Cardinal Bellarmine. Cf. *Epistolae Nadal*, IV, 165-81.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 64 f.

## LAYNEZ' DISCOURSES

Layneze's intense delight in preaching and the great success he enjoyed is alluded to frequently in the Jesuit letters from Rome. Until the end of his life he was always ready to deliver a sermon anywhere and to any group, large or small. His reputation, however, always assured a tremendous crowd. One of his listeners, Cardinal de Nobili, who died in January, 1559, used to return home after Layneze's sermons and copy down every word he could remember.

The Cardinal was probably one of the many who at this time listened to a series of thirty discourses on prayer, delivered by Layneze. These discourses are explanatory, some of them apparently meant only for priests, and do not follow the usual pattern of the preacher. They may be divided into five general headings as follows: the meaning of prayer; the efficacy of prayer; the way it should be performed; the means that will help men to pray well; and finally, the application of numerous examples.

Most of these lectures have been preserved only in the form of extracts and notes, made partly by Layneze himself in preparation for the series, and partly by men who heard the talks. Only two have been published by Grisar,<sup>10</sup> more or less in their entirety, and several others are represented by excerpts. The speaker followed the custom of his times in using metaphors and similes, as when he compares prayer to the human body. The marrow of prayer is the intention one has in praying; its bones and sinews are fortitude; its flesh is an understanding of the words. This usage makes the discourses peculiarly a product of the sixteenth century. In the next century the use of allegory and figures by spiritual writers and speakers rapidly declined.

At the end of June, 1559, when the weather was too warm for the comfort of large congregations, Layneze quit the public pulpits of Rome, and began a series of more intimate exhortations to his fellow Jesuits. The Jesuit community had been growing rapidly and there were many who had only an imperfect concept of the meaning of Jesuit life. The General himself undertook to explain the Constitutions of St. Ignatius to them, and also dwelt long on an explanation of the particular and general examen.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 543-60. The twentieth and twenty-first discourses are given by Grisar in Latin. Parts of the first, twenty-third, twenty-fifth, and thirtieth are in Italian.



His interests and work outside the Society continued to be almost universal. He wrote to the new viceroy of Sicily, John de la Cerda, then preparing another military expedition against the Turks.<sup>11</sup> Drawing on his own experiences in Africa, Laynez gave him invaluable advice not only on the spiritual help of the soldiers but also on the care of the wounded. He highly approved of frequent Communion, even of the daily reception of the Sacrament for those who led exemplary lives. His zeal for the foreign missions of the Society, especially in Ethiopia and the Indies, recalled the enthusiasm of Xavier and Loyola. He was insistent, too, that the Jesuits should carry out the prescriptions of the Constitutions regarding the teaching of Christian doctrine to boys, highly recommended the catechism of Peter Canisius for this work, and suggested that the boys might follow the custom of chanting the Catechism answers in unison.

It was according to strict truth, therefore, that Polanco could address a letter to the whole Society, saying that "Our Father General . . . is in a perpetual motion of diverse occupations."

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Appendix V, Advice to a Military Leader.

## CHAPTER XIV

### *His Brother, Christopher*

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#### CHRISTOPHER LAYNEZ

ONE of the disagreeable tasks performed by Laynez in 1559 was the ousting of his own brother, Christopher, from the Society of Jesus. Christopher Laynez is probably the only Jesuit in the four centuries of the Society's existence who enjoyed the dubious distinction of being admitted three times and dismissed twice. Loyola first received him on the strength of his brother's recommendation. James ousted him. Francis Borgia, the third General, both received him and dismissed him. Finally, Aquaviva allowed him to return to the Society and to pass his last days in it.<sup>1</sup>

Christopher Laynez was a restless man of high resolves, very similar in character to James, but lacking the persistence and driving force to accomplish great things. His energy was as great as his brother's but it was not accompanied by the stability necessary to see things through in spite of difficulties. In the spring of 1548 he was at Rome with Ignatius, and seemed anxious to go over to Venice, where James was then working.

Loyola was one of the best directors of men, but he did not make a success in the problem of handling Christopher. He permitted the latter to indulge his desire for change, allowing him, within a few years, to go from Rome to Padua, to Bologna, to Loreto, and finally to Florence. In the spring of 1551, Polanco wrote on behalf of Ignatius, asking James where his brother should be sent and how he should be handled. Answering from Florence, James intimates that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sacchini's remark in *Monumenta Ignatiana*, I, 348.

Christopher's youthfulness still permitted hope for his improvement, and that severity might not be the most prudent measure in his case.

He tells Polanco:

Whatever Father Ignatius does in this matter I shall consider the best policy. In his consideration and decision of the affair, I should like him to remember that I am not the man to stand in the way of God's greater service. This might be a sufficient answer; but I should like to add that in these and similar cases (following the opinion of more learned and more understanding men) I believe that excessive severity is the less prudent course. If the man who is the object of that severity is a stubborn person, he will crack and crumble; if he is a weak person, he will obey indeed but not graciously and sincerely, and his obedience will not persevere. When a man is given a little more time he can develop spiritual strength and thus perform easily and thoroughly what he could not previously do. It seems to me that men are very similar to trees in this regard. When trees begin to bud too early, the sap freezes, but when they bud in mild weather and at the right time they become strong enough to resist the cold weather.<sup>2</sup>

This letter gave Ignatius Loyola the idea that Laynez could successfully handle his younger brother, and he sent the youth to him at Florence in September, 1551. Within a year Christopher was bored with the place and wished to go back to the Eternal City to be near the center of things. On October 1, 1552, James wrote to Ignatius from Florence, complaining about three other scholastics and remarking that "Christopher also is making himself difficult. He cares nothing for obedience, and studies very little. Now he says that he wishes to perform marvels. But if he fails in these things, it probably will not seem good to Your Reverence to send him to the college at Rome. If he does not improve there, I do not know where he will improve."<sup>3</sup>

In this question of Christopher's inconstancy, Ignatius was torn between loyalty to his old friend and a sense of duty to the Society of Jesus. Shortly afterward he and Ribadeneira were discussing the matter at Rome, when they were both of the opinion that Christopher was on the point of leaving the Order. In the event that Christopher would leave, asked Ribadeneira, would Ignatius give him some financial help, not for his own sake but for the sake of his brother James? Loyola unhesitatingly answered: "If I had all the gold in the world,

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, I, 177.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

Peter, I would not give even a small coin of material assistance to any man who abandons his religious order.”<sup>4</sup> This indicates that Loyola believed Christopher’s religious vocation to be genuine, and that the younger Laynez was simply squandering his opportunities.

In the following year both Loyola and Laynez felt that Christopher would do better under another superior, and they sent him down to the college of Messina in Sicily, to be under the direct supervision of the capable Jerome Domenech. For three years he was engaged partly in teaching and partly in the study of theology, making barely sufficient progress to be admitted to the priesthood in April, 1556. Even during this period his behavior was not exemplary, a fact mentioned by both Polanco and Nadal.<sup>5</sup> What James thought of him during this time is not recorded, but he must have felt a certain amount of fraternal concern about him.

#### CHRISTOPHER DISMISSED

After his ordination to the priesthood Christopher stayed in Sicily until January, 1557, when Domenech sent him to Rome. He seems to have stayed there, trying the patience of James, until the latter formally ejected him in August, 1559. Knowing that Christopher was going to Spain, the General wrote to Borgia on August 20, saying: “We have dismissed from the Society, Christopher Laynez, my brother according to the flesh, because he fully deserves it. Your Reverence will treat him as you do other similar cases, and advise the provincials to do the same.”

Exactly what circumstances precipitated the final rupture is not known to us. Laynez himself seemed reluctant to take the necessary measures while he was vicar-general and, even after becoming general, withheld action for more than a year. Christopher remained the same restless, roving character, with occasional spurts of spiritual renovation, while James retained for him enough brotherly affection to help him satisfy his whims. Spain did not prove particularly hospitable to Christopher. His parents were dead, and the rest of the family were living in considerably reduced circumstances.

At the end of 1559 Christopher applied for the position of tutor to

<sup>4</sup> Reported by Ribadeneira in his *Dicta et Facta S. Ignatii, Monumenta Ignatiana*, I, 406 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Chronicon*, VI, 276; also *Epistolae mixtae*, V, 545; and *Epistolae Nadal*, I, 402, 414, 444.



the sons of Charles Borgia, then Duke of Gandia. Francis Borgia suggested that Christopher first prove his constancy by serving for a while in the local hospital. When James heard of this he wrote to Francis Borgia and to Anthony Araoz, the Spanish provincial, appreciating their charitableness, but declaring that his brother had neither the ability nor the perseverance necessary for tutoring these children.<sup>6</sup> This project fell through, and Christopher became somewhat listless for a while, depending for his financial support upon his brother-in-law, John Hurtado de Mendoza. In March, 1561, Nadal reported to Laynez that his brother had left Almazan for Rome about a month previously.<sup>7</sup>

The younger Laynez came to Italy through the port of Genoa, and the morning after he arrived at the city he called upon Peter Ribadeneira, then provincial of Tuscany. His repentant attitude made such an impression on the good priest that Ribadeneira was moved to write a strong appeal to the General on his behalf. Christopher was willing to undertake any penance to atone for his fault and for the bad example he had given in the Society. He would throw himself at the feet of his brother and former superior, asking only that James give him a chance to show the sincerity of his repentance.<sup>8</sup>

The Jesuit General refused to be too lenient, but he told Christopher to begin an indefinite probation, serving the sick and destitute in the hospital of St. James at Rome. In April, 1561, he told Nadal that great sorrows and trials might have matured Christopher; and two months later Polanco informed Nadal that Christopher seemed to be striving for the greater glory of God.<sup>9</sup> When James Laynez left for France in June, he gave instructions that "Christopher was to serve in the Jesuit house and to keep recollected. In September he could be sent to Venice to continue his studies."<sup>10</sup>

#### HIS WANDERLUST

During the protracted absence of his brother, Christopher's resolutions gradually failed him. Alphonsus Salmeron, his fellow towns-

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, IV, 668; *S. Franciscus Borgia*, III, 590; *Epistolae Salmeronis*, II, 50, 52 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Epistolae Nadal*, I, 402, 414.

<sup>8</sup> *Ribadeneira*, II, 372 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Epistolae Nadal*, I, 444, 462, 484.

<sup>10</sup> *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 750.

man, who was acting for James at Rome, tried unsuccessfully to dissuade him from journeying again to Spain. In the middle of October, 1561, the wanderlust proved too strong, and Christopher obtained from Salmeron three letters of recommendation to the Jesuit rectors, Jerome Rubiola at Siena, Gaspar Loarti at Genoa, and Alphonsus Roman at Saragossa. Salmeron also asked Nadal to give him thirty scudi a year, "not in one sum but in small amounts, as long as Christopher behaved himself and did his duty. If he fails in this, the stipend should immediately cease." Less than half a year later, Father Vaz, provincial of Portugal, reported that Christopher was at Coimbra, and Nadal remarks that he was going around like a buffoon, *unchocarrero*, demanding help from every Jesuit he met, shouting: "I am the General's brother."<sup>11</sup>

For a brief time in 1562 Christopher studied at the College of Evora. Tiring of this, he conceived the idea of doing missionary work in the Indies. But, since the Jesuits would not provide him with more than thirty ducats a year, he tried to beg the necessary funds for the journey at Lisbon and other Portuguese cities. James Laynez then asked the Jesuit confessor of the Queen, Michael de Torres, to look after Christopher, saying that the Bishop of Coimbra had promised to finance the journey for him. In the event, however, the younger Laynez never went to the Indies, nor did he again petition for admission to the Society of Jesus until after the death of James.

#### LAYNEZ' RELATIONS WITH PAUL IV

If these affairs of the restless Christopher brought personal unhappiness to Laynez, they were only a minor note in the larger discords perpetually occurring all round him. During the last two years of the Pope's life, the General maintained close, if sometimes strained, relations with the Pontiff. He worked in many directions at once to assist the volatile Paul IV, but was courageous enough to oppose the papal will in certain measures. The false charges made against Cardinal Pole and Cardinal Morone forced Laynez, as well as every other influential and straight-thinking cleric at Rome, to take their side against the Pope. Reginald Pole, then legate to the court of Queen Mary of England, was suspect of heresy, but he was protected by the Queen,

<sup>11</sup> Salmeron's letters are in *Monumenta Lainii*, VI, 87 ff. Cf. also *Epistolae Nadal*, I, 533 f., 666, 678, 702.

who ordered the arrest of anyone bearing papal letters to him. Morone, who was as orthodox as the Pope and as eager for Church reform, was likewise accused of heresy and kept in prison while the Roman Inquisition vainly searched for the evidence necessary to convict him.

In February, 1558, when charges and countercharges against these men were at their height, Salmeron and Ribadeneira happened to be at Brussels. Laynez had Polanco write a letter to them at the end of January, urging them strongly to do everything in their power on behalf of the two cardinals. They were to visit the confessor of Philip II, and act with him in trying to influence the King to intercede with Paul IV for Pole and Morone.<sup>12</sup> But no king, no prelate, no Laynez could move the irate Pope, who declared: "Even if my own father were a heretic, I would gather the wood to burn him." Cardinal Morone was freed and completely vindicated after the death of Paul IV, but Cardinal Pole died before he could be cleared of the false charges.

Queen Mary of England died on November 17, 1558, only fourteen hours before Cardinal Pole himself expired. The immediate changes that occurred in the religious situation under Queen Elizabeth were reported to Laynez by Peter Ribadeneira, then in London. The young Spanish Jesuit seems to have had a better grasp of the state of affairs than even the Spanish ambassador, Feria, who advised Paul IV that the excommunication of Elizabeth would save Catholicism in England. Ribadeneira, however, did not underestimate the new Queen's strength, and strongly urged the greatest tact in dealing with her; *en fin non est addendum oleum igni*. Pastor believes that, "in view of the close relations between Paul IV and Laynez, it is very probable that the advice was decisive of the Pope's attitude."<sup>13</sup>

#### DEATH OF PAUL IV

On Tuesday, August 15, 1559, three days before he died, Paul IV summoned Laynez for a last friendly discussion. Though loath to ad-

<sup>12</sup> There are two orders from Laynez to Ribadeneira, under date of January 24, 1558. Cf. *Ribadeneirae monumenta*, I, 265 f., where both are published; also *Epistolae Salmeronis*, I, 235, especially the footnote.

<sup>13</sup> Ribadeneira enclosed a short memorandum for the Holy See in his letter to Laynez from London, January 20, 1559. Both are given in *Ribadeneirae monumenta*, I, pp. 310-14. For Pastor's remark, cf. *op. cit.*, XIV, 409.

mit the approach of death, the Pope seemed finally to be aware that his great energy was running out. This aged, sickly man was not the defiant, thundering Paul whom Laynez had known, advised, and fought with for so many years. He was now bitterly repentant for many of his hasty actions, and exclaimed to the Jesuit: "How bitterly flesh and blood have deceived me! My relatives have plunged me into an unhappy war, from which many sins in the Church of God have arisen. Since the time of St. Peter there has been no such unhappy pontificate in the Church. I repent bitterly of what has happened; pray for me."

The Jesuit General lost no time in carrying out this last request. As soon as he heard of the Pope's death, he sent out messages to all the residences and colleges of the Society, describing the good and pious death of Paul, and ordering each of the priests to celebrate Mass for the repose of his soul. He ordered also that special petitions should be added to the litanies, recited daily in Jesuit communities, for the speedy election of a new pontiff. Laynez had always spoken highly of Paul IV, even in the letters announcing the papal edicts concerning the two changes in the Jesuit Constitutions. Perhaps no other man knew as well as he both the good qualities and the serious defects in the character of Paul IV.

The rabble at Rome remembered only the Pope's defects and his severity. On the very day of his death they tore down his statue, broke off its head, dragged it through the streets, and finally dumped it into the Tiber. Nadal remarks that "a rebellion arose, and the Roman people destroyed the building of the Inquisition. . . . They threatened also to come and burn our college and residence." Laynez himself mentions the disturbances in the city and notes that many false rumors and stories were being spread among the people.<sup>14</sup>

#### PAPAL ELECTION

When the question of Paul's successor came up, there occurred another of those wearisome and protracted conclaves which have been so often regretted by both the clergy and the laity in the Church. For

<sup>14</sup> For his letter to the Jesuit rector at Genoa, cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, IV, 479. For Nadal's laconic remark, interspersed among his random notes in the *Ephemerides*, cf. *op. cit.*, II, 65.



more than four months the See of St. Peter was without a bishop, and seriously needed reforms were practically at a standstill while the electors disputed over the choice of a new pope.

The conclave was indeed little better than a political squabble. The three separate parties are proof of the freedom of choice enjoyed by the cardinals, but they were also the cause of time-consuming confusion, frustrated balloting, ingenious scheming, and open quarrels. Laynez had close friends in all the parties, but he was much too wise to express a preference even if the desire or occasion to do so had presented itself. In the French party his friends were Cardinals d'Este, Strozzi, and Christopher del Monte; in the Spanish group there were men whom he knew well: Cardinals Madruzzi, Truchsess, Pacheco, Carpi, Morone, Medici, and Gonzaga; likewise among the followers of the dissolute Charles Caraffa, Laynez was well acquainted with Cardinals Ghislieri, Scotti, Rebiba, and Reumano.

Forty electors entered the conclave on September 5, 1559, but none seemed to take the business of electing a pope very seriously. Everyone was maneuvering for position, feeling out the strength of adversaries, and there was so much indecision that practically half the cardinals began to estimate their own chances for election. By mutual concessions it became possible for almost any cardinal to be honored with a few votes at the frequent balloting. Men who were not considered serious aspirants to the papal throne, such as Saraceni, Rebiba, and Ghislieri, each received more than a third of the votes on different days. On October 13, the electors gave twenty-one votes to Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese merely because it was the anniversary of his grandfather's election.

This practice of honoring popular men, together with the tedious monotony of the conclave, may have been the reason why James Laynez himself was mentioned as a possible candidate for the papacy. Toward the end of November the cardinals were thoroughly worn out with the incessant bickering, with the interference of outsiders, such as the imperial ambassador Vargas, with the fetid atmosphere of the closed apartments. Some of them were seriously ill. Others were worried because lack of money necessitated the dismissal of many of the papal troops, because the people themselves were clamoring for a decision, and because Protestant doctrine was being disseminated in

the streets of Rome by men who had come from Germany in monks' garb.

On December 2, the cardinal of Augsburg, Otto Truchsess, summoned Laynez to the conclave for the express purpose of making his confession to the Jesuit General. He had given orders that Laynez should be admitted with one companion.<sup>15</sup>

This summons and its consequences were amplified by Ribadeneira until there has been established a persistent tale to the effect that Laynez was seriously considered as a prospective candidate. "At the request of the Cardinal of Augsburg," wrote Peter, "and with the consent of the other cardinals, Father Laynez was called to the conclave to settle a certain difficulty. When he had arrived there, some of the conscientious and zealous cardinals, who had had dealings with him and were aware of the goodness, knowledge, and prudence which our Lord had given to him, began to talk of making him pope. The good father overheard this, and, after obtaining permission to leave, he fled the conclave quickly and terrified as though they wished to assault him."

Twelve cardinals, whose names are not mentioned and who were most eager for the reform of the Church, promised their votes for the election of Laynez. Ribadeneira further states that the Jesuit General then visited Francis de Vargas, to obtain his support against the threat of election. "And I know in particular what the ambassador said and what the Father answered." He relates also that Cardinal Truchsess told of this event several years later at the funeral oration for Laynez. Perhaps we shall never know the exact details of this episode, but there seems to be little objective foundation for the story.

At various times during December it appeared that first Reumano, then Gonzaga, then Carpi, then Pacheco, would win the election, and Vargas had little time to attend to Laynez' requests. Finally, at Christmas time Cardinal Gian de Medici, who had the backing of the powerful Duke of Florence, was elected pope and took the name of Pius. The scrutiny of the votes was made on December 26, and the new Pontiff was crowned on January 6, 1560. A great surge of relief passed

<sup>15</sup> This is as much as the document tells us. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, IV, 562 f. The rest of the story is supplied by Ribadeneira in his *Vida del P. Diego Laynez*, Bk. II, chap. 8. He is quoted by Azagra, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 f.

over Rome at the popular outcome of the long conclave, and the people are said to have expressed their relief with such loud shouting and applause that they even drowned out the noise of the cannons announcing the event.

#### AUDIENCE WITH PIUS IV

Layneze hastened to pay his respects to the new Pope as soon as he could obtain an audience. On January 4, a letter was sent in his name to the provincial of Portugal, Michael Turrian, describing the Jesuit General's visit to the Vatican. Layneze told Pius IV on this occasion of the special devotion and obedience to the Holy See which members of the Society professed in their vows. He offered himself and his fellow Jesuits for any service which the Pope wanted performed, and recommended for his attention all their various projects, especially the Roman College, which was training priests to battle the heretics in northern Europe.

The former Cardinal Medici reminded Layneze that he required no one to recall the excellent works done by the Society in the past. Now, as Supreme Pontiff, he would desire a continuance of those works and would call upon Layneze from time to time for special missions for which the Society was well adapted. His tone was most cordial toward the General, and he openly expressed his high regard in the presence of three cardinals and numerous other men. There can be no doubt that he, as well as the other prominent ecclesiastics of Italy, was well aware of the abilities and the needs of the Society.

Pius IV was a hearty, friendly person, often seen walking in the streets of Rome, and breaking down at the Vatican the formal and rigid exclusiveness of his predecessor. But if anyone thought this external attitude indicated a return to the lax days and habits of long ago, he was to be rudely surprised. Within a week of Layneze's visit the Pope announced his firm intention of carrying out the reform measures of Paul IV and of reopening the Council of Trent as soon as possible. He would not be severe, but he would certainly insist upon a just and complete reform in the Church, beginning at Rome. One of his first acts was an order that the bishops still lingering on at Rome should fulfill their duty of residence.

## BOOKLET ON EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS

It was probably at this time that Laynez composed a booklet of instructions for the episcopal visitation of dioceses. Perhaps it was written at the express request of Pius IV or at the instance of the many bishops in whose dioceses he had himself labored and to which he had sent other priests. At any rate it filled a peculiar need of the times and helped to stabilize the manner in which bishops would treat their subjects. There is no question of a dogmatic inquisition here, but only of disciplinary and moral problems most likely to confront the bishop and his diocesan visitators.

There is a blend of authoritative quotation and practical personal advice in this treatise entitled, *De muneribus episcopalibus rite obediendis instructiones diversae*.<sup>16</sup> "A bishop is bound to visit his diocese every year," quotes the author from canon law and the remarks of Antonino. Innocent III and Innocent IV had issued special regulations concerning this duty; and the *Pontificale* of Benedict XIV listed six points that should be recalled. At each parish the bishop should pray for the dead first of all, then he should investigate how the parish church is being governed both spiritually and temporally. Thirdly, he must handle the public offenses of adultery, fornication, sacrilege, and superstition which are referred to him; then give the lay people an opportunity to present their needs to him. He must administer the sacrament of confirmation, and finally exhort the people to a better life and instruct them for a while personally.

The Instructions for Bishops contains a tremendous amount of material in digest form, and indicates that its compiler was thoroughly familiar not only with the canon law of the Church but also with its principal commentators. The work gives us a picture of what the ideal situation should be in the intimate parish life of Catholics, and supplies an inkling also of many details in the life and work of people consecrated to God. Laynez takes up the episcopal investigation of the following matters: clerics, churches, monasteries or convents, hospices, schools, oratories, and pious societies, and finally, matters concerning the Catholic laity in general.

Regarding clerics, the author lists fifteen impediments that may

<sup>16</sup> This work is contained in Grisar, *op. cit.*, II, 417-41. It was found without a title and may have been part of another and larger treatise, though it is quite self-contained for its specific purpose. Grisar added the Latin title as given above.



be incurred by them; then he adds twenty-eight distinct points about the learning, personal morals, and liturgical and canonical regulations to be observed by simple clerics. The parish priest, or other cleric enjoying a benefice, is subjected to fifty-nine possible questions. Various reserved cases are pointed out as well as the more important irregularities; and then several general remarks are added on the duty of preaching.

Monasteries in the diocese are to be visited by two priests, one religious and one secular, men who are acquainted with the constitutions of each order and who will make necessary arrangements for confessors, superiors, instructors, and so forth. The hospices are to be scrutinized for spiritual and physical equipment. The schools and pious organizations must conform to the best standards of the times, laying special emphasis on carrying out their functions for the individual and public welfare.

Realist that he was, Laynez recognized the perpetual problem of prostitution and advised that women who carry on this pitiable profession should be limited to their own districts. They were not permitted to have young girls as domestic servants, nor were married women allowed to go into the business. Prostitutes were not to walk outside their own neighborhood, and were not to enjoy the use of a carriage, horse or mule. They should be forced to attend Mass on Sundays and feasts, and to hear a special sermon once a month, or at least once every three months. They should go to the confessional at least once a year, "and if by chance the Lord should inspire their souls during confession they may receive absolution." All this indicates that Laynez had no better solution for this social problem than has been offered in the intervening four centuries. The best he could suggest was a limitation of the activities of these women and the hope that they would take advantage of spiritual means for their conversion.

For the rest, the author provides a catechism of suggestions regarding the observance of ecclesiastical precepts for the care of prisoners, the sale of meat on abstinence days, the control of taverns and liquor, the care of mendicants and destitute, the handling of heretics, infidels, magicians, fortune-tellers, astrologers, circus performers, and actors.

The remaining sections of the Instructions deal exclusively with

priests and candidates for the priesthood, their age, impediments, and knowledge. The author concludes the whole work by pointing out "the regulations which we carefully observe at Rome" with regard to candidates for holy orders. Those wishing to receive minor orders must at least know how to read. Subdeacons must be able to read any ecclesiastical author, and to understand some parts of what he reads. Deacons must read with facility and must understand more than subdeacons. Finally, priests should both read and understand with facility, and know something about the sacraments and their administration.<sup>17</sup>

There is no way of telling how widespread was the use of this booklet of instructions. We may well assume, however, that it was in common usage for many years; for the bishops had frequently called on Laynez himself to help reform their dioceses, and many of the other Jesuits had been employed in the same work from the beginning of the Society. There was still another short manual of instructions composed by Laynez at this time for the use of confessors and with regard to ecclesiastical benefices. This difficult problem was one which the Jesuit had discussed a dozen years before at the Council of Trent and which he often considered both in speech and in writing.

#### PROBLEM OF BENEFICES

*De beneficiis ecclesiasticis instructio ad usum confessoriorum*<sup>18</sup> is in reality a set of three instructions which would help confessors to solve cases arising from the plurality of benefices, the duty of residence, and the question of financial income. These constituted the basic internal obstacles which several popes had vainly tried to overcome. Pius IV was now again confronted with the same difficulties, and he was determined to solve them. There were no satisfactory general or particular regulations governing benefices, and the best confessors found themselves involved in endless argument when they attempted to settle matters for their penitents.

Laynez' approach is that of a thoughtful moral theologian who real-

<sup>17</sup> These were, of course, the "minimum essentials" required at that time and they must not be unfairly compared to the requirements of our own times when mass education has become the vogue.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Grisar, *op. cit.*, II, 401-16.

izes that all could not be settled by a single sweeping injunction to moderate living. "It often happens," he says, "that the power of binding and loosing is dangerously abused . . . when men come to confession who have many benefices, or do not reside in them, or receive excessive incomes from them." Regarding a plurality of benefices, he makes three suppositions: first, that the divine law makes no provision for the matter; secondly, that it is, however, commonly against the natural law; and lastly, that canon law forbids it. He then appends five practical rules by which the confessor may judge whether a dispensation has been obtained, or whether there is just cause for dispensing.

#### THE DUTY OF RESIDENCE

Again in the question of the non-residence of a bishop or any other person who holds a benefice, Laynez states that there is no divine law governing the matter, but that natural equity and the canon law demand the continuous presence of the holder of a benefice. Men who accept such titles and then do not fulfill their part of the contract are at least remotely guilty of the sad state of worship, of dilapidated churches, of mercenary practices, of harm to individual souls. "The man who is not in residence is more harmful to himself than to others; for he is acting unreasonably and uncharitably when he receives a stipend to be the pastor, watchman, guardian, spiritual doctor, and guide, and then out of stupidity, ambition, or avarice absents himself from the custodianship of his flock."

These are serious condemnations, but the fault condemned was a serious one. The same critical attitude is found in Laynez' words about the amount of money to be accepted by clerics. Two extremes must be avoided: a benefice which does not pay enough for the support of a man and thus forces him to accept more positions and obligations than he can properly fulfill; and the other extreme: the rich benefice sometimes given to a man simply because he is of noble birth or of great learning, but who does nothing for the Church.

The manual of instructions concerning benefices was used with great profit by the confessors of the Society of Jesus, who were everywhere employed by the bishops eager for reform. It was invaluable in helping conscientious priests to dispose their own affairs in con-

formity with Pope Pius IV's new movement for internal reform. The letters of Jesuits, both to and from Rome, make frequent allusions to these problems, and the fact that the Pope himself was interested in them made their solution doubly necessary.



## CHAPTER XV

# *Trouble with Cano and the French Parlement*

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FOR A brief moment at the beginning of Pius IV's pontificate it appeared that the old enmity between Melchior Cano and James Laynez would be rekindled. The Dominican never forgot the harsh language used against him by Laynez at Trent, and during the intervening years he had openly shown his hostility to all things Jesuit. After returning to Spain he had been consecrated bishop, probably in 1553, and he made it almost a preoccupation to cast aspersions upon the Society of Jesus. In private letters and conversations, and even in the pulpit, he carried on what was almost a campaign of invective.<sup>1</sup> This abuse reached a stage where even his own religious brethren objected to it. The Dominicans, John de la Peña and Aloysius de Granada, defended the Society, and Cano's Provincial asked him to cease his anti-Jesuit strictures.

### CANO IN ROME

In the spring of 1558 Ribadeneira had heard rumors that Cano was now the provincial of Castile, and that he was soon coming to the Dominican chapter at Rome, with the added intention of telling the Pope his opinion of the Society. Ribadeneira seemed frightened at this prospect, but Laynez reassured him, writing that "Master Cano has not arrived. One of his fellow Dominicans here said that he

<sup>1</sup> Astrain, *op. cit.*, II, 73-85, has an interesting account of these activities. He confirms the fact of Cano's episcopal consecration, which has frequently been disputed.

seems to have some fear about coming. The Dominicans here can get along well without him, and some of their principal fathers have visited and dined with us in a most friendly manner. Their new General shows himself a real friend, desirous of harmony with us.”<sup>2</sup>

Toward the end of the following year Cano was actually in Rome, and Polanco told Borgia that he was now pretending friendship for the Society. Laynez was wary about these pretensions, and would have forced a showdown with Cano at this time. But two circumstances stood in the way: he did not wish to start any litigation so early in the reign of Pius IV, especially since he was trying to get some important permission from the Pope. Furthermore, he could produce no reliable witnesses or written evidence against Cano, both of which would have been necessary now that Cano was denying any animosity toward the Jesuits.

#### MEETING WITH CANO

LayneZ asked Cardinal Morone, who was also the protector of the Dominicans, to interview Cano on his attitude toward the Society. When nothing came of this interview, Laynez arranged to meet Cano at the home of the ambassador, Vargas, and in the presence of Cardinal Peter Pacheco. Cano refused to make any statement against the Society but confined himself to general objections against the private activities of Loyola and Laynez. The latter was willing to accept any personal affront, but said quite plainly that insults against the Society could not go unanswered.

When Vargas later came to the Jesuit house to arrange a basis of friendship between the two men, Laynez declared he did not think that Cano had lost his anti-Jesuit bias. Another meeting was arranged, to take place at Cardinal Pacheco's residence, and this time both politeness and deception were thrown to the winds. No one has reported the contents of their argument, but Nadal said they got into a bitter dispute, *acrem congressum*, which Laynez abruptly ended with the sarcastic remark: “A puny little fellow opposes a whole religious order. What a joke!”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ribadeneira*, I, 289, 292. Ribadeneira's letter was sent as a warning from Brussels.

<sup>3</sup> For various letters regarding Cano's activities at this time, cf. *S. Franciscus Borgia*, III, 582; *Monumenta Lainii*, IV, 647, 666 f.; *Ribadeneira*, I, 332 f. For an account of the meetings between Cano and Laynez, cf. *Epistolae Nadal*, II, 46; and *S. Franciscus Borgia*, III, 586 f.

The immediate outcome of this meeting is not clear. Whatever Cano may have thought of Laynez after that cutting remark, he seems to have exercised admirable self-restraint as long as he remained at Rome. On May 11, 1560, Laynez was able to inform Father Mendoza, rector at Naples, that "Bishop Cano has no designs on the Society, and he left here convinced that it has no designs in his regard."<sup>4</sup> Cano concluded his other affairs in a satisfactory manner, but when he left for Spain he was a sick man. He was, in fact, subject to strokes of apoplexy, and had to interrupt his journey twice for periods of rest. In July, 1560, before he could reach his destination, one of these strokes proved fatal.

#### PROGRESS OF THE JESUITS

Except for this troublesome conflict with Melchior Cano, the year following the election of Pope Pius IV was unmarked by any spectacular external activity on the part of James Laynez. He was devotedly engrossed in the intimate details of the Society of Jesus, its growth and smooth functioning, so that Polanco could report in June, 1560: "The affairs of our Society have improved very much here at Rome and elsewhere." In another letter to Barcelona, written at the same time, he said that "generally speaking, the affairs of the Society are running very smoothly, and for the glory of God, our Savior."

In October of that same year Laynez' secretary informed the Jesuit rector at Lisbon of the numerous requests they had received for colleges in the heretical countries. "And it is amazing," continues Polanco, "how the men who understand our work are deeply convinced here, as well as in France, Germany, Flanders, and even in Italy, that God our Lord is assisting His Church by means of our least Society. There is such a demand for our men in various places that even if we had several thousand members I believe that within a few months every one of them would be occupied."<sup>5</sup>

The steady success of the Society of Jesus under his careful guidance did not cause Laynez to grow in self-esteem. On the contrary, he showed his humility by occasionally serving at table and working in the kitchen. In public he continued his custom of preaching from

<sup>4</sup> *Monumenta Lainii*, V, p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> These letters were written by Polanco at the direction or command of the General. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, V, 90, 92, 253 ff.

various Roman pulpits on the principal feast days. His high position did not make him careless in the preparation of these public addresses. The fact that he was General of the Jesuits, however, seemed to increase his audiences, for there were men at Rome who did not deem it worth their while to attend the sermons of anyone less than a cardinal or the head of a religious order.

In all his external activity Laynez' first thought was for the advancement of God's work in the Church. He never tired of praising the qualities of the new Pontiff, and of pointing out the necessity for love and obedience toward the Church. As Polanco later remarked, "Even a few words spoken by Laynez seemed to help people in a most effective way, because of the authority he held, because of his great gift of preaching and conversing, but mainly because he desired only to serve God in the ministry."<sup>6</sup> The frequent testimony of many other people shows that this is not mere exaggeration on the part of Laynez' good personal friend and secretary.

#### LAYNEZ' RELATIONS WITH THE POPE

The Jesuit General's relations with the Pontiff remained on the most friendly plane, and the quiet progress of the Society undoubtedly owed much to the maintenance of this relationship. The resources of the papal treasury were now at a low point, but Pius IV managed to provide several additional houses for the Jesuits. When Laynez went to thank him for this favor, the Pope remarked that it was nothing at all in comparison to the things he would like to do for the Society. "God our Lord has inclined the Pope to be greatly interested in our affairs, and has given him much affection for our Father General," said Polanco in July, 1560. "Yesterday they discussed the universal problems of the Church, and he replied to the Pope's questions very satisfactorily. He also petitioned a bull of confirmation clarifying some of our privileges, and the Holy Father not only confirmed these but even extended them beyond what was requested. He instructed our Father to consult Cardinal James Pou immediately and to reach an agreement with him about the whole matter."<sup>7</sup>

In the latter part of this year the General began to think again of the regulation made by Pope Paul IV concerning the three years'

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Polanci Complementa*, I, 433.

<sup>7</sup> *Monumenta Lainii*, V, 130 f.



limitation of his term of office. He put the question of a new election squarely to all the professed priests of the Society, ordering them in virtue of holy obedience to write down and submit to headquarters exactly what they thought of the matter. To help them know the complete state of the question, he listed what he considered the six best reasons against the election and seven reasons in favor of it.<sup>8</sup> He sincerely and humbly wished to follow their will in this important question.

It was by no means his purpose simply to ask for "a vote of confidence" from his fellow Jesuits. This is evidenced by the fact that he was more than willing to quit his position and submitted the question to several impartial canon lawyers and moralists at Rome. The response from the Jesuits was overwhelmingly in favor of his retention and of maintaining the constitutional prescription of perpetuity in office. One lone dissenter was the Italian, Francis Adorno, who thought that the command of the deceased Pope should be followed in its entirety. Francis Borgia suggested that it might be well to obtain an explicit statement from Pius IV so that no future General would worry about it.

Humanly speaking, the most gratifying response of all came from the formerly fractious Bobadilla, who had been Laynez' chief opponent at the general congregation. Father Nicholas said:

My vote is that the office of general should be perpetual *ad vitam*, as is laid down in the Constitutions; and in the case of Your Reverence, that it last a hundred years. And if you could return after death, my vote is that you keep it till Judgment Day, and I beg you to accept it for the love of Jesus Christ. Concerning choir, I do not think it is according to the spirit of our institute to practice it daily. But if Christ inspires its use on feasts and Sunday, where it will be for the public good, the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, I would not object to it. I write all this cordially, truthfully, sincerely, and with my own hand *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*.<sup>9</sup>

Bobadilla was not a man to do things by halves, and he always afterward showed himself completely devoted to Laynez. Occasionally he

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 224 ff. The letter published in this volume of the *Monumenta* is addressed to Anthony Araoz, Jesuit provincial of Castile, but it was sent also to all the other provincials to be communicated to the professed fathers.

<sup>9</sup> This letter was sent from Ragusa, May 5, 1561, and is included among the *Epistolae Bobadillae et Roderici*. For the individual votes of sixty professed fathers see *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 686-745.

would write, or have others write for him, to inform the General of his great desire to visit Rome and to be close to his reverend superior.

Current events outside the Society of Jesus were now arranging themselves in such a way that Laynez was soon to be swept into them. He knew of the Pope's fond hope of reopening the Council of Trent and expected to take part in it. But the work of preparation was slow. Neither Henry II of France nor Philip II of Spain could be brought into entire sympathy with the papal plan, at least not at the same time. Peter Canisius was working valiantly at Augsburg to save German Catholicism from the Reformers, while Broet, Cogordan, and others were attempting to bring both the Society and the Church back into full favor in France. The Council would not open until 1563, but meanwhile Laynez was to enact a dramatic, if somewhat futile, role in France.

#### THE JESUITS AND KING FRANCIS II

Henry II died in 1559, and at the accession of his son, Francis II, the fortunes of the Jesuits were immediately and directly reversed. In a royal edict of October 9, 1560, the new King ordered that every favor and privilege was to be accorded the members of the Society. This was published by Charles de Guise, cardinal of Lorraine; but without the approval of the French Parlement it could have little force. Hence, at the end of the month, the King himself addressed a communication to the Parlement, ordering that the Jesuits be admitted to France and that any objections which would arise to this course should be remitted for his personal investigation. On November 1, he communicated his wishes to the President of the Parlement. Several days later Cardinal Tournon, an aged man friendly to the Society, addressed the President, pointing out the usefulness of the Jesuits in combating heretical errors. Cardinal George d'Armagnac added his own words of praise and commendation. On November 8, Catherine de Medici took up the Jesuit cause in three curt missives, the first to the royal representative in the Parlement, the second to the members themselves, and the third to the President.<sup>10</sup>

The protestations of members of the royal family were unavailing in the face of Calvinist opposition. The Protestants wished to have no business with the Jesuits in France. Moreover, they were given

<sup>10</sup> All of these are reproduced in *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 681-91.

unacknowledged support by Eustache du Bellay, bishop of Paris and long-time enemy of the Society. On the other hand, the man most responsible for pushing the case of the Jesuits was the tireless Cogordan, who had obtained numerous recommendations and orders from the royal family and the highest ecclesiastics. As early as June of this year he had already directed much French sentiment toward his order and obtained four official approbations from Francis II.<sup>11</sup>

The sudden death of Francis II in December, 1560, did not disturb Laynez so much as might be expected under the circumstances. He and his French representatives depended greatly upon the backing of the Queen Mother, especially now that a Medici was Pope and another powerful Medici, the Duke of Florence, was an old friend of the Society. Charles IX, a boy only twelve years old, was crowned, but he reigned under the guardianship of his mother, Catherine de Medici. Under his name and from Fontainebleau there came another order to the Parisian Parlement on February 20, 1561. Two days later the Parlement finally took cognizance of all these suggestions and orders by decreeing that the status of the Society in France would be left to the next ecumenical council of the Church.

#### THE COLLOQUY OF POISSY

The historical fact seems to be that the Calvinists recognized a golden opportunity in the King's youth to regain the ground lost under the repressions of Francis I and Henry II. Many of the leading Catholics were themselves straddling the fence between compromise and orthodoxy, hoping to save both nationalism and religion. It was thought that the troubles between Catholics and Calvinists could be solved at a common meeting, where the controverted points of religion could be openly discussed. The Cardinal of Lorraine agreed to this proposal, and the result was the famous Colloquy of Poissy, held at the birthplace of St. Louis near Paris. The Colloquy opened on July 31, 1561, was attended by the whole royal family, six cardinals, forty archbishops and bishops, and many other noted persons besides Laynez, Peter Martyr, and Theodore Beza.

<sup>11</sup> Cogordan had certainly redeemed himself in the eyes of Laynez and the other Jesuits, indicating that the previous quirks of character could be forgiven in the face of this tremendous activity. For his own account of affairs in Paris, his visits to the court, the names of friends and enemies of the Society, and so forth, cf. the long letter to Laynez, written from Paris on June 2, 1560 (*ibid.*, V, 67-77).

Pius IV had no great hope for the success of this French Council for he had seen the futile bickering which had occurred at the similar diets in Germany. He based all his hope on the Council of Trent and expended much energy toward its reconvening, but meanwhile asked Cardinal Hippolyte d'Este to watch over the Catholic cause at Poissy.

The shrewd old Cardinal of Ferrara asked the Pope for the services of Laynez on this mission. Pius IV wanted the Jesuit General at Rome, and also foresaw that he would need him at the Council of Trent; yet he hinted to Laynez that it might be well to look into affairs in France. The Jesuit was hesitant about accepting the hint. If he went with a cardinal who was so openly opposed to Spanish interests, he would create political mistrust against the Jesuits in Spain. He might be open to the suspicion of neglecting his first duty, the direction of the Society. But a direct command by the Pope would allay these threats, and Laynez asked Pius to send him under an order of papal obedience.

Before leaving Rome with Polanco on July 1, 1561, Laynez appointed Salmeron as his vicar-general. During the temporary absence of Salmeron at Naples, however, the man who was to handle affairs in the Holy City was Christopher Madrid. The departing General left a letter of instructions which, in its detailed orders for the activity of each Jesuit at Rome, was reminiscent of the kind of orders Ignatius Loyola had frequently given. Certain men were appointed as consultors for both Salmeron and Madrid. When a decision could not be reached, the matter should be referred to Laynez.<sup>12</sup>

#### THE JOURNEY TO PARIS

The comparatively short journey from Rome to Paris consumed more than two and a half months of Laynez' time, a record for slowness even according to sixteenth-century traveling. It is hard to see anything in this but a deliberate delay of the arrival at Paris until the assembly had settled the question of Jesuit status in France. Laynez and Polanco knew that this question would come up in the meetings and they probably wished to avoid embarrassment both for themselves and for the French by waiting until it was settled.

The travelers made their first stop at Caprarolla, about thirty miles

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 748-51.



from Rome, where they visited the bedside of their great friend, Cardinal Farnese. From there the two Jesuits leisurely proceeded to visit the Society's residences and colleges at Amelia, Perosa, Montepulciano, Siena, Florence, and Bologna. At each of these towns the General held consultations with superiors, gave domestic discourses to the community, and preached in the local churches. At Bologna, Laynez was taken sick with severe fever and stomach pains, but he struggled on to Ferrara, where his friends of earlier times nursed him for eight days. The traveling had been in the hottest part of the Italian summer, and Laynez could not begin to recover properly until he reached the cooling climate of Mantua. By the time he reached Paris on September 18, he was again in normal health.

The Colloquy of Poissy had in the meantime made a poor start, with most of the month of August wasted in endless arguments. The Chancellor, Michael d'Hospital, wished it to be a national council with full powers in secular and ecclesiastical affairs. The Cardinal of Tournay insisted that they would do nothing without the knowledge and approbation of the Pope, and above all would not presume to define any dogmas. On September 9 a number of Calvinist theologians arrived at Poissy, led by the recalcitrant and eloquent Theodore Beza, who applied all the tricks of rhetoric in the explanation of heretical doctrines. The Catholic answer to his address was delayed for several days, and the bishops meanwhile proposed the official recognition of the Society of Jesus in France.

For nine years the Cardinal of Lorraine had been trying to get approval for the Jesuits from a hostile Parlement, but he was always thwarted, chiefly through the machinations of the Bishop of Paris. All the papal documents and bulls relating to the Society, and many other recommendations, were now presented to the assembly, and most of the leading prelates were ready to cast a favorable vote. Du Bellay was in charge of drawing up the document of approbation, and he worded it in a way that was not very flattering. Among other things stipulated, the Society was not to be considered a new religious order in France, and its members were to be completely subject to the superintendence, jurisdiction, and correction of the bishops in each diocese. In other words, their activities were to be hampered at every turn. The prelates were fully aware of the restrictive character of

this document but thought that it was at least an opening wedge for future concessions and so approved it on September 15, 1561.<sup>13</sup>

#### LAYNEZ AT THE COLLOQUY

Three days later Cardinal d'Este, Laynez, and Polanco arrived to take their places as the official envoys of the Pope at the assembly. The sharp-eyed Polanco missed nothing of the proceedings, made notes about everything and everyone, and toward the end of the month wrote his account of it to Salmeron.<sup>14</sup> The Cardinal of Lorraine and his learned doctors from the Sorbonne had been arguing against the Calvinists, Theodore Beza, Peter Martyr, and Marloratus, concerning various questions of Church dogma and discipline. On Wednesday, September 24, Peter Martyr gave a particularly able disquisition of the Calvinist stand with regard to the real and substantial presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. It was decided by the cardinals that Laynez should respond to this and the previous attacks of the heretics on the following Friday.

There were some staunch Catholics who refused to attend Laynez' speech at Poissy on the score that matters of faith and dogma should be neither discussed nor settled at a mere national council of this kind. Polanco, however, with his reporter's technique, points out that in spite of the rain the audience included the Queen Mother, the King of Navarre and his wife, Prince Condé, Duke de Guise, and other members of the royal family, five cardinals, twenty-five bishops, and a host of learned theologians and doctors. While Polanco raced along taking notes, Laynez addressed his words directly to Catherine de Medici.

The fluent Jesuit General clothed his direct and unequivocal thoughts in the most charming and gracious language, but at the same time left no doubt as to the true Catholic attitude toward heretical teachings. "Madame, it is true that a traveler ought not to be too curious about the affairs of a foreign country. Yet, since the faith is universal and Catholic, and not the private possession of any indi-

<sup>13</sup> Royal recognition of this decree was not forthcoming until February 12, 1562, when a document appeared under the name of Charles IX, repeating but scarcely improving upon the decision of Du Bellay. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 805-7.

<sup>14</sup> For this interesting and descriptive letter cf. *ibid.*, VI, 54-58. The text of the speech itself is given in VIII, 759 ff., and also in Grisar, *op. cit.*, II, 94 ff., under the general heading, *Contra haereticos Galliae perturbatores*.

vidual country, it seems fitting that I submit to Your Majesty the thoughts which come to me about the general events occurring here, and particularly in reply to some of the objections made by Fray Peter Martyr and his colleague."

## HIS SPEECH

Then Laynez divided his speech into three parts. As Polanco reports to Salmeron: "The first was to point out the deceptions usually employed by apostates from the Church, the caution needed in dealing with them, and the danger which lies therein. The second counselled the Queen to pay no attention to these people, since a definition in matters of faith was no affair of hers or of any other secular ruler, but of the Supreme Pontiff and the Council; and since this latter was in session, it seemed only proper to refer to it. His Holiness would certainly give them a safe-conduct, and thus, with the cooperation of the many learned men assembled there, as well as by the assistance of the Holy Spirit, they could more easily solve their doubts and problems. . . .

The third part was a refutation of statements made by Fray Peter Martyr and Beza, and a defense of the real presence of the body of Christ our Lord in the Eucharist. It concluded on a highly emotional note which moved both the speaker and the audience. It was an appeal to the Queen and all present to profess clearly the Catholic faith and to cease hesitating out of human respect and fear. He said that, if they feared God above all things, He would protect their temporal kingdom and give them an eternal one; otherwise they would lose both of them. Then there was an animated discussion about the words of consecration, *hoc est corpus meum*, in which the blind obstinacy of the heretics was fully demonstrated. It was almost nightfall when the whole affair, which had started shortly after midday came to an end.

Laynez' alert secretary observed the reaction of the audience to this speech, and reported to Salmeron:

If Your Reverence wishes to know what effect our Father's frankness had on those present, be assured that the heretics did not like it at all—which seems to me a good sign. Regarding the others; the doctors who were near me were almost jubilant at hearing the truth explained so plainly, something which even good men, out of human respect, fear to preach. I hear that the Queen is somewhat irritated, but I believe it will do her good. The

rumor is that she will no longer attend the conferences. Most of the others who were present seemed to think that all these truths had been very well expressed. But some thought that Father has shown too much frankness, while others said that, since these discussions treated about God, such tactics were necessary.

The learned Jesuit, Hannibal du Coudrey, who was also with Laynez at the Colloquy, declared that the freedom with which the speech was expressed had a salutary effect on some of the audience. "And Father Polanco said that, as far as he could recall, those doctors and other Catholics were greatly consoled at hearing the frank expression of those truths which they themselves felt in their hearts, but which they did not dare to speak out." Within a month people at Rome, too, were happily recounting how the great Laynez had confronted the heretics. John Andrew Caligari informed the apostolic nuncio to Germany, Bishop John Commendone: "We have received news from France that the Bishop of Lorraine addressed the assembly in a fine and prudent speech against Beza, the follower of Calvin, and that Beza and Peter Martyr had departed apparently convinced. Father Laynez has accomplished stupendous feats in the presence of the Queen and the King. He has freely and frankly preached the word of God, and brought the utmost satisfaction to all Catholics."<sup>15</sup> Cardinal d'Este was so delighted with Laynez' speech that he ordered it translated into French and distributed among the savants of Paris and the nobles of the country.

To a man less ambitious than James Laynez these manifestations of appreciation might have been fully satisfactory, but the fact is that the Jesuit wanted nothing short of an entire conversion of the French to the true mind of Rome. He followed up his public appearance with numerous private interviews, especially with the secular leaders of the state. He called upon the Prince Condé and showed him how essential it was that the French nobility should throw their full support to the approaching ecumenical council. The Pope would invite the heads of the new Churches, whether in France or Germany, to the assembly, so that their complaints against the morals of church-

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Coudrey's letter to Jerome Domenech, provincial of the Society in Sicily, *Monumenta Lainii*, VI, 59-64. The remarks of Caligari were made on October 18, 1561, and are quoted in Astrain, *op. cit.*, II, 158. For an account of the Colloquy of Poissy in English, cf. Evannet's *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent*, published at Cambridge in 1930, pp. 283-393.



men and their dogmatic differences could be fully discussed. The Reformers will be well received and accorded every consideration at the meetings. The main thing is that they come, and that the secular princes advise them strongly to do so.<sup>16</sup>

The General expressed his dissatisfaction over the state of ecclesiastical affairs in France in several letters at this time. He told Madrid that he feared the adversaries would spurn the papal invitation to the Council, and that millions of souls were in danger of eternal perdition because of the political and religious duplicity of the ruling class. Polanco, too, spoke in melancholy tones of the little success they were having, even though they were preaching and teaching all the time. Laynez, at the request of the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Cardinal of Ferrara, wrote various explanatory tracts on the question of Communion under both species, of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, and of other theological matters.

Adverse conditions were so serious at Paris, where the two Jesuits went to preach a course of Advent sermons, that Laynez had to temper his usual fervent oratory. He was warned that the public sedition against the Jesuit Pelletier at Toulouse would be repeated at Paris unless he spoke cautiously. Laynez seems to have heeded this advice, but the unexpected coolness with which Paris received his first few sermons arose from the fact that he preached in Italian. Changing to French, a language he had not used in public since his student days a quarter of a century before, he obtained an immediate success.

Polanco kept a sort of diary of Laynez' activities from January to April, 1562, in which he records that the General converted several Calvinists, heard the confessions of cardinals and bishops, interviewed innumerable people on behalf of the Society of Jesus. A treatise on sacred images, completed in the middle of February, has not been preserved. Seven other commentaries, however, dealing mostly with the reformation of religion in France, give us an inkling of the Jesuit's chief preoccupation during these months.<sup>17</sup> The first was a long exhortation to Catherine de Medici, giving reasons why the Calvinists should not be permitted to build churches in France. The others,

<sup>16</sup> The Prince was so favorably impressed with Laynez' arguments that he asked for a copy of them to be sent to other interested parties. This short exhortation is reproduced by Grisar, *op. cit.*, II, 103-5.

<sup>17</sup> The editors of the *Monumenta Lainii* include the short advice to the Prince Condé among these seven treatises. Cf. VIII, 775-805. For Polanco's diary, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 768-75.

addressed to various people, suggest remedies that should be applied both internally and externally for the reformation of the Church.

Among his other activities Laynez took a hand in establishing the famous college of Clermont in the spring of 1562. There had been considerable legal difficulties concerning the last testament of the deceased Bishop of Clermont, who bequeathed the necessary money for the purpose. Cogordan bustled about among the influential senators, getting their support for the Jesuit cause. When the case was settled, he brought Laynez and Polanco around to the buildings he had already picked out, and obtained the General's permission to make immediate renovations. Laynez left Paris on June 8, but not until he had listened to several talks given to the new college faculty by Jerome Nadal, then in France on a tour of inspection.

#### AT BRUSSELS, LOUVAIN, AND TRIER

The General required more than two months to reach his next destination, Trent. He went by way of Flanders and Germany to investigate conditions in the various cities and to pave the way for the reception of his fellow Jesuits and to lighten their worries. Laynez and Polanco took Nadal with them as far as Tournay, and then proceeded to Brussels. Here the General was warmly received by the aging Margaret of Austria, ruler of the Low Countries, sister of Philip II, and onetime close friend and penitent of Ignatius Loyola. He also visited Cardinal Anthony Perrenot de Granvelle, genuine patron of the Society, who had promised his full support. He called upon the president of the royal council, Van Zwichem, who applied the diplomat's privilege of cordial words and empty promises but at the same time asked Laynez' advice on several matters of statecraft. Another visit was paid to Maximilian de Walhain, bishop of Cambrai, who wanted a Jesuit college in his diocese. This request was granted when Laynez turned over the details to his master educator, Jerome Nadal.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The observing eye of Polanco took in all these facts of the journey from Paris to Trent. He related them minutely in a letter to Francis Borgia, then in Rome at the Pope's command. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, VI, 333-55. For Cardinal Granvelle's personal attitude toward Laynez and the Society, cf. *idem*, pp. 242 f. Nadal relates his own activities at this time in his usual abrupt Latinity; *Epistolae Nadal*, II, 95. The slanderous Spanish charges against Borgia which moved Pius IV to order him to Rome, can be found in any of the current biographies of the saint. Laynez and Cardinal d'Este had intervened so successfully in his behalf that the papal invitation remarked: "We are thinking of using your talents, either for the Council or for other affairs which will pertain to the honor and service of God." Cf. the *Monumenta*, S. *Franciscus Borgia*, III, 667.

At Louvain, Laynez and Polanco consulted with the provincial of Lower Germany, Everard Mercurian, met the principal professors of the University, and held long conferences with the religious refugees from England who were there in great number. From Liège, where they talked about a college with Bishop Robert van Bergen, the two Jesuits proceeded through Maestricht and Juliers to Cologne, where they arrived at the end of June. Here the General spoke to the community of about fifty Jesuits, and later found himself the guest of honor and the subject of a laudatory Latin speech given by Gerard de Hammont, abbot of the Carthusian monastery.

At Trier, Archbishop John von der Leyen showed particular signs of affection for the Jesuits and discussed with Laynez prospective educational activities. This business was again turned over to Nadal. At Mainz, Laynez was tried severely with stomach pains but he managed to straighten out both domestic and external problems. The heretics had violently resisted the coming of the Jesuits several years before, but the more stable citizens welcomed them; and Laynez now had a long and satisfactory talk with the imperial elector, Archbishop Daniel Brendel, founder of the Jesuit college at Mainz and close personal friend of the mighty Peter Canisius.

The General and his secretary sailed up the Rhine to Frankfort, traveled up to Erfurt, then to Ulm, where they arrived on July 25. By this time the journey had fallen into a kind of pattern, dominated always by the interests of the Church and the Society, varied only by the names of places and people. Practically everyone who could help those interests was consulted by Laynez, who met with some degree of success in every city. After leaving Ulm, the two dust-stained travelers stopped at Soires, Ingolstadt, and Munich, arriving finally at Trent, where Cardinal Otto Truchsess greeted them warmly on August 13, 1562.

## CHAPTER XVI

### *The Third Sojourn at Trent*

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THE period preparatory to the reopening of the Council of Trent, and the part Laynez played in it, are too important and interesting to dismiss without comment. Pius IV, from the first day of his pontificate, had determined upon this reopening, and he had no stronger supporter in this determination than the General of the Jesuits. The obstacles were numerous and enormous, lasting more than two years; and their removal was owing as much to Laynez as to any man under the Pope.

#### OBSTACLES TO REOPENING OF THE COUNCIL

The first of these obstacles was placed by the Emperor himself, who demanded that the Council, which had temporarily adjourned in 1552, should be now permanently closed. An entirely new Council should be convened, which would not be considered a continuation of the old. He was convinced that the Protestants could never be won over to the Church, that they would not even attend the assemblies, unless a fresh start were made. They wished to take up and discuss all the matters that had already been decreed at former sessions; at any rate, many of the Christian princes refused to recognize the former assembly as an ecumenical council.

Ferdinand I noted many other points in a memorandum which was handed to Hosius, the apostolic nuncio at Vienna, on June 20, 1560. He told the Pope that England and France must make peace before the Council convened; that all Christian nations, including Eng-



land, Sweden, and Denmark, should be represented; that Pius IV must attend in person; that the meetings should be held at Cologne, or some other German city; that every courtesy and protection must be extended to the Protestants; that before the Council is summoned, other matters must be attended to, namely, the reform of the clergy, permission for priests to marry, the concession of the chalice to the laity.

Layneze would have something to say on practically all these demands during the course of the ensuing years. He was invited to be present and to give his opinion at the meetings of canonists and theologians called by the Pope during the summer and autumn of 1560. The vigorous support he gave to the papal prerogatives during these meetings was not always popularly received, especially among the canonists, but that support was vindicated by the bull of convocation, *Ad ecclesiae regimen*, issued by Pius IV on November 29, 1560.

In his first speech at these preparatory meetings, Laynez gave his reasons in favor of a continuation of the Council of Trent; and then presented answers to the imperial objections. "In the first place, it would be a strange and unheard-of thing in the Church to start a new council before the other, legitimate, catholic, and ecumenical, had been closed."<sup>1</sup> The Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Florence, Lateran, and all the others, had been carried on to a definite conclusion. His Holiness should be careful not to set a precedent for future councils, which might adjourn and abandon their definitions.

"Although the Holy Apostolic See, through the assistance of the Holy Spirit," continues Laynez, "cannot err in defining matters of faith, it must be careful to proceed legitimately and not tempt God . . . which would seem to be the case when definitions are discussed again as though they had never been made." Furthermore, the heretics would charge His Holiness with contradicting himself if he should change his mind about continuing the Council. Then also the faithful might be alienated from the Pope, and the adversaries would have achieved a new success over the Church. The Lutherans would come

<sup>1</sup> Quotations given here are from the four speeches given by Laynez in the presence of Pius IV at Rome. They are published in Latin by Grisar, *op. cit.*, II, 1-23, but seem to be only a partial representation of Laynez' part in these meetings. Cf. also Pallavicini, XIV, 13, 10 ff. for Ferdinand's demands.

to the new Council and argue interminably about previous decisions so that conciliar business would never be completed. Finally, the very definitions already made would lose their authoritative force in the eyes of the people unless the Council were continued and confirmed.

Layneze then takes up the objections and answers them one by one. The displeasure of Ferdinand I and other princes must not make us hesitate, for they are Christians and know their duties toward the Church. The heretical representatives can come to a resumed council as well as to a new one. All the words of the reverend canonists about the rights of the Pontiff are true, continues Layneze, but in this matter we are concerned not with what can be done, but with what ought to be done. They say that the decisions made so far are of little importance, "but I submit that the things defined are more numerous than the devil and our adversaries wished; and what is well begun is already half-finished. Much has been decided most wisely concerning the reformation itself, and regarding the dogmas of faith we have placed an excellent foundation and erected a good part of the building."

With hammering logic Layneze sweeps away every objection. He insists that the decisions must stand; that they have been at least tacitly, if not solemnly, approved by the Holy See and are part of the Church's teaching. The bishops have their authority from the Holy See, and the Pope, who cannot err, is at their head and in their midst in the Council. Therefore it is much better to continue the same Council rather than convoke a new one. "These are my thoughts on the subject. . . . If I have spoken them too freely, I have done so because Your Holiness has so ordered it and because the honesty and fidelity which I owe to the Holy Apostolic See and to the person of Your Holiness does not permit me to speak guardedly in so important a matter."

#### QUESTION OF HERETICS AT THE COUNCIL

In his next speech to the papal advisers and Pius IV at Rome, Layneze took up the much argued question about the admission of heretics to the Council. He quotes Paul and Irenaeus to the effect that it is useless to discuss things with the most obstinate and hardened heretics. With others, who are not so hidebound in their error, it might be profitable to dispute, even about matters already defined. This same

course had been followed with the Donatists, with Eutyches, Macarius, Paul of Samosata, and the Greek heretics. It was not a question of rejudging men who had already been judged, but of offering them an opportunity to be moved by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Christ Himself acted thus with the Sadducees and Pharisees, and Paul with the Hebrews, and many early Fathers with their own adversaries.

"Although they are permitted to dispute in the councils, they should be listened to in the right way. Nothing which has already been legitimately defined by the fathers should be changed because of the subtlety and ingenuity of the heretics (*propter eorum vel astutias vel argutias*).” Many examples from ecclesiastical history show that the councils never retracted either their own definitions or those made by previous assemblies. Therefore the heretics should be admitted to the Council of Trent so that they may be taught and instructed, but not that well-established definitions may be changed.

In his third appearance before the Roman theologians and canonists, Laynez was forced to repeat many of the arguments he had given on the two previous occasions. Specifically, however, his object was to outline what had already been done at the Council of Trent and to indicate precisely what remained to be done. As he remarked: “There yet remain some very important and new questions to be discussed and defined: on the sacraments of orders and matrimony, on Communion under both species, the sacrifice of the Mass, the marriage of priests, on indulgences and purgatory, the veneration of saints, on relics and the use of images, on ceremonies and ecclesiastical worship, on the Church and her power.”

The Protestants may well be present at all these discussions, continues Laynez, but it is of the utmost importance that these things be considered in the resumed Council of Trent and not in an entirely separate and new Council. The Jesuit was so utterly convinced of this point that he endlessly repeated all the previous arguments in favor of it. There was strong opposition to the continuation of the Council even among these fathers at Rome, and the fact that Trent was reconvened must be largely attributed to Laynez’ stubborn and persuasive insistence upon it. He knew the mind of Pius IV on the matter and thus defended it the more strongly; but he was also convinced in his own mind and for his own reasons.



## THE BULL OF CONVOCATION

It had been the Pope's intention to publish the *Ad ecclesiae regimen* on November 24, 1560; but on that day and for several days following, Laynez and the others were still in violent discussion over it. On November 29, Pius IV gave a short introductory talk in consistory. The bull was then officially promulgated by its reading, and the Pope concluded the meeting with a brief explanation of its contents, indicating that the three major aims of the Council were ecclesiastical reform, the end of schism, and the overthrow of heresy.

This bull of convocation was most carefully worded in an attempt to satisfy all objections, and was therefore satisfactory neither to the Pope nor to Laynez. In it Pius IV remarks that his predecessors, Paul III and Julius III, had been unable for certain reasons to bring the Council to a successful conclusion. He put this short historical sketch in such a form that the reader must take for granted the validity of all previous conciliar decrees at Trent. Peace was now at hand in Christian countries, continues the Pontiff, and, though the further spread of heresy is to be deeply regretted, he now summons the holy, ecumenical, and general Council of Trent to be opened on the following Easter Sunday. All who had the right or duty of attending the Council were invited to do so. Nowhere in the bull does the Pope use the word "continuation," but his meaning is unmistakable and implicit throughout.<sup>2</sup>

Layneze may have been disappointed that a more forthright declaration of the Pope's mind was not made in this document. At the same time he was experienced enough to know that the very vagueness in which it was clothed was a triumph of diplomatic skill. By not expressly convoking a "new" Council the Pope meant to satisfy Philip II and the strong Spanish faction; by not directly asserting the "continuation" of the Council he hoped to avoid a break with Ferdinand I and the French.

In the days immediately following the publication of the bull of convocation the Jesuit General had an opportunity of once more expressing his mind about the Council. Giovanni Commendone, bishop of Zante, was sent to deliver the bull to the Emperor and also to announce the Council in northern Germany, Belgium, and the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pallavicini, *op. cit.*, XIV, 17, 6.



Rhineland. He left Rome on December 11, and it is supposed that Laynez' fourth extant discussion on the matter was given for the benefit of this prelate.<sup>3</sup> The Jesuit remarks that after the promulgation of the papal bull, one can no longer criticize it, but must attempt to give it every favorable interpretation. To all objections the answer must be given "that His Holiness had conceived the document in the way he did in order to offend and alienate no one, and to win all to Christ."

The Jesuit warns that the Lutherans must not be given too much hope that their proposals will be accepted or that they can revise and take over all the former decisions. He then shows that the different expressions of the document can be construed to satisfy either side of the controversy regarding the relation between the coming assembly and the previous meetings at Trent. The adversaries should be told that the Council itself will decide whether they are to have voting power and be allowed to make speeches, or merely to submit their opinions in writing. The papal envoy should treat with all these men in a gracious yet firm manner. He should persuade the Protestant princes to send learned, quiet, and peaceful men to the Council, and not wild-eyed radicals (*furiosos et seditiosos*).

#### THE ORTHODOXY OF GRIMANI

The endeavors, frustrations, and experiences of Commendone and Delfino among the Lutherans constitute almost an epic in itself. While they were doing their work in northern Europe during the first half of 1561, Laynez at Rome became involved in another question relevant to the Council of Trent. He was asked by the Pontiff to give his expert opinion concerning the predestination theories held by the patriarch of Aquileia, Giovanni Grimani. The latter had been seriously proposed as a candidate to the Sacred College of Cardinals on February 26, 1561, when Pius IV unexpectedly created eighteen new cardinals. Though the candidacy was powerfully backed by the Republic of Venice, the Pontiff replied that he could not consider the

<sup>3</sup> Grisar makes this supposition and it seems legitimate because of the language used and because Laynez was consulted more than anyone else by men going on such missions. Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. II, *Prolegomena*, p. 12. It is probable that Laynez spoke also for the benefit of Niquet, Cardinal d'Este's secretary, who was sent to promulgate the bull in France, and of Zaccaria Delfino, bishop of Lesina, who was to do the same in central and southern Germany.

request until Grimani had been cleared of all heretical suspicions. The group of theologians who passed judgment in this delicate affair included James Laynez.

As is usual in such matters at Rome, the investigating committee made a slow start, with the result that Laynez could not gather the facts and start writing his opinion until he was on the verge of leaving for France with Cardinal d'Este in June, 1561. Laynez humbly admits this at the beginning of his written report by remarking that his mind was distracted by preparations for the journey and he could not consult enough books or give the matter the mature consideration it deserved. At the end he wrote: "These are the thoughts which hurriedly and at random occurred to me concerning the specific propositions. I submit them most willingly and humbly not only to the judgment of the Holy Apostolic See and the Holy Office, but also to anyone who may have a better opinion."<sup>4</sup>

The Holy Office was in possession of a letter which Grimani had written to his coadjutor bishop in the spring of 1547, and it was from this letter that eighteen propositions were selected for Laynez' comment. The Bishop had written that "the predestined cannot be damned, and the reprobated cannot be saved," and Laynez remarks that this opinion is heretical, scandalous, and rash, if the Bishop is talking about the absolute necessity of damnation or reprobation, which is the result of a predetermining divine cause. It is likewise false, continues Laynez, to call Catholics the enemies of divine grace, to say that predestination and reprobation depend upon the free promises made by God to us, to assert that the blood of Christ and divine providence itself are remiss unless all men are already predetermined to their destiny.

Grimani was fond of remarking that a man cannot change his future state any more than a child can change the nature he received from his father. He maintained that God's will cannot be changed, that God would not select his chosen ones and then finally abandon them, as though a man once baptized cannot fall out of the state of grace. On the contrary, insists Laynez, man is not merely a passive instrument in his own justification, but plays an active cooperative

<sup>4</sup> The history of Grimani's case, which was carried on into the Council of Trent, must be threaded together from various sections of Pallavicini, *op. cit.*, XV, 6, 5 f.; XVI, 5, 8; 11, 14; XXI, 7, 9-14; XXII, 3, 10; 11, 1. For the text of Laynez' opinion, cf. Grisar, *op. cit.*, II, 137-52; and for Grisar's interesting comments, *ibid.*, *Prolegomena*, pp. 51-54.

part with God to achieve salvation.<sup>5</sup> He points out that the Bishop's opinions lean toward the condemned propositions of men like Hus, Wyclif, the Waldenses, and current heretics who taught that the prayers of a reprobated man are useless.

Despite the weighty theological arguments he provides against the letter of Grimani, the Jesuit is charitable enough to remark that he would say nothing against the person of the Bishop. "For I am inclined to believe that he is Catholic and under the judgment of holy mother Church, and since he is not well versed in the teachings of the Church, he has written in good faith and without any ill will that which seemed true to him. If these things were demonstrated to him as contrary to the doctrine of the Church, he would reject them and never admit them as his own."

Layneze was no longer at Rome when the Holy Office finally judged the case of Grimani in September, 1561. The judges were quite lenient and listened patiently to the personal explanations of the Patriarch. But the latter had the notion that they were all arrayed against him, and he demanded that the whole affair be submitted to the Council of Trent. The Republic of Venice backed him with representatives both at Trent and at Rome. These men supported him with such insistence that Pius IV finally allowed the case to be tried again before a commission of conciliar fathers. On September 17, 1563, he was solemnly absolved from any formal guilt of heresy on the grounds that he had unwittingly and unintentionally trod on dangerous theological ground.<sup>6</sup>

#### REOPENING OF THE COUNCIL

Meanwhile at Rome hope had practically been abandoned that the Council could reopen as scheduled on Easter Sunday, 1561. Perhaps that hope had never been very strong. Bishops everywhere

<sup>5</sup> In this brief and hasty work of Laynez can be seen a forecast of the tremendous theological contribution made by men like Molina, Bellarmine, and Suarez concerning God's foreknowledge, predestination, sufficient and efficacious grace, and so forth. It barely indicates the start of a mighty Jesuit tradition in theological astuteness.

<sup>6</sup> The future Pope Sixtus V was also asked to give his opinion on Grimani's letter in 1562, but did not take the trouble to investigate it as thoroughly as Laynez did. He merely stated that it contained direct errors, heretical and rash statements, the author of which should be questioned and examined. As a matter of fact, Laynez' brief and hasty opinion was the most thorough of all those submitted in the case.



seemed to be reluctant to have the honor of being the first to appear at Trent. On Easter only four bishops had arrived; even the two papal legates, Cardinals Gonzaga and Seripando, coming ten days later. There could be no question of opening discussions until the number of prelates increased. In August, Pius IV gave strict orders that all Italian bishops were to go to Trent before September 1, but even these had to wait until November for most of the Spanish bishops. On December 9, Cardinal Simonetta, another papal legate, arrived, bearing a declaration of the Pope which read in part: "We have waited long enough for all the princes, and the matter can therefore be no longer delayed, but the Council must be opened as soon as possible and continued with all speed; the former Council of Trent will once more be resumed, nor may it be repudiated in any of its parts."

The last remark shows that the Pope was nettled over the continual, deliberate hedging by secular powers and that he meant to carry out his original intentions without ambiguity. He allowed a further short delay, however, when he heard from Delfino that the imperial representatives had promised to arrive by the middle of January. The first general congregation was held on January 15, and the formal opening took place three days later.

Although four other generals of religious orders were present in the procession on the opening day at Trent, Laynez still seemed to be somewhat dubious about his relation to the new Council. When he and Polanco were at San Germano in the previous October, the latter sent a tentative query to Salmeron at Rome. "If His Holiness should order Father Laynez to go to the Council, it may be a good idea, if a convenient occasion arises, to say a word about the expenses, that is, whether they should be taken from traveling money left here or should be sent from Rome. Find out what His Holiness wishes; but do not say anything until he commands Father Laynez to go."<sup>7</sup>

On the last day of the year Laynez himself wrote to Salmeron from Paris, still apparently waiting for some definite invitation or order from the Pope. "In regard to my going to the Council," he wrote, "let us see whether His Holiness will give any command, or whether I should go by virtue of my office and the general summons to those

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, VI, 100. These remarks are in a postscript evidently meant for Salmeron alone.



who ought to attend by right, custom, or privilege. In everything we wish to act, so far as we understand it, for the greater service and glory of God our Lord. May His grace be always in our souls." <sup>8</sup>

The fact is that the cardinal of Perugia, Fulvius della Corna, also wrote at Christmas time, 1561, telling Laynez that the Pope wished the Jesuit General to attend the Council. Laynez, of course, knew this all along, but he could hardly attend to papal business in France with Cardinal d'Este and at the same time be present at Trent. Therefore he desired a specific injunction from the Pope, telling him what to do and when to go. Since he knew from previous experience that the first few months of conciliar business were likely to be unimportant, he felt that he could do a better service for the Church by remaining in France. His delay is easily explained by these reasonable motives and was not at all on account of any great self-esteem which expected special notices and invitations.

In April, 1562, Polanco wrote to Salmeron, remarking that the Pope had expressly requested Laynez to go to the Council as soon as affairs in France would permit him to do so. He was to attend not only as the general of a religious order, but likewise as the theological representative of Pius IV. This double capacity was pointed out by Cardinal Charles Borromeo, young nephew and secretary to His Holiness, in Laynez' credentials to the presiding legates of the Council.<sup>9</sup> The letter in favor of Laynez was written at Rome on May 11, 1562, five days after a similar letter had been made out by the Cardinal in favor of Salmeron.

Polanco later remarked that everyone at Trent was looking forward to the coming of Laynez and Salmeron, whose solid reputation rested on their previous conciliar activities. He adds that the Pope and the cardinals finally asked Laynez to make haste. But neither the General nor his Vicar was the first Jesuit to arrive. That honor went to the Frenchman, John Cuvillon, who came at the beginning of May and remained throughout the Council as the representative of the Duke of Bavaria. Peter Canisius came on May 14, and Alphonsus Salmeron at the end of the month, having first turned over the government of the Society to Francis Borgia, then at Rome.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 807 f. Borromeo, though a cardinal, was not yet ordained. His connection with the Society would become more intimate within a few years.

Salmeron did not hesitate long before taking part in the discussions then going on concerning the general doctrine on the Eucharist, Communion, and the Mass. On June 10, he spoke for three hours, seeming to take up where he left off on the same subject in 1551, and speaking so ably that Massarelli wrote down the substance of the speech in his diary. Emperor Ferdinand I stoutly maintained that there was a good chance of winning over the dissidents if Communion were permitted to the laity under both species, and his view was ably defended by Canisius. Salmeron took the opposite view, holding that the heretics' position was more deep-rooted than this, but he lost his argument. A temporary concession was made to German Catholics, later revoked by Pope Gregory XIII.

From July 21 to August 4, the theologians, among them Canisius and Salmeron, held thirteen separate meetings, discussing the proposed articles on the Sacrifice of the Mass. Then, from August 11 to 27, the fathers of the Council took up the same matter. Laynez and Polanco arrived in the middle of these meetings, at a time when the question of the chalice for the laity had not yet been settled. Further deliberations on this difficult matter were taken up during the last week in August, so that the Jesuit General could also add his careful opinions.

#### LAYNEZ AT THE COUNCIL

For an embarrassing moment it seemed that Laynez was going to have difficulty in finding his seat in the Council. The cardinal legates themselves and most of Laynez' old friends had given him an eager welcome upon his arrival, but the specter of ecclesiastical precedence raised its head on the first day he attempted to take his place in the meetings. The master of ceremonies, who was there solely to keep such things straight, assigned Laynez a place as the head of a clerical order, and before the generals of monastic orders. The latter vehemently objected, declaring that their own orders enjoyed greater antiquity and they themselves always had precedence over the Jesuit general at Rome. Laynez, who was never a man for formalities and external pomp, thought the matter too trivial to argue about, and quietly asked the master of ceremonies to give him any place at all, even the last one. He did, however, flatly deny that he had been given

a lower place than the monastic generals at Rome.<sup>10</sup> The master of ceremonies took up the trivial matter with the cardinal legates, who in turn asked Laynez to absent himself for a few days until they had settled the affair.

As is usual in such affairs, peace was restored by a compromise. In the church where the assemblies were held, Laynez was given a seat opposite to the generals and just behind the bishops, but was told that he could give his vote only after the other generals had given theirs. There is no record of Laynez' having raised a finger to obtain the honorable place with the bishops, but the arrangement made was the cause of a calumny that soon spread throughout Germany. The enemies of the Society there started a rumor to the effect that Laynez had intrigued to gain the place and that his prime ambition was to obtain a rank higher than that of the heads of other orders. The four legates of the Council had given their decision in a letter to Cardinal Borromeo as early as August 20; but when they heard the false reports, they issued another document on November 1, in praise and defense of Laynez.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Astrain explains Laynez' outright denial of the other generals' allegations concerning precedence at Rome in this way. Laynez had been present at various meetings with them in the beginning of 1556 when there were discussions about the internal reform of the Church and when Ignatius Loyola was still alive. Laynez was present, of course, as a simple theologian, and the generals now recalled this fact, but seem to have forgotten that his changed status as head of the Society of Jesus should also change his rank at ecclesiastical functions. The explanation is at least charitable, if not very convincing. Cf. Astrain, *op. cit.*, II, 169.

<sup>11</sup> For the letter to Cardinal Borromeo, cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 815. Regarding the rumors themselves, cf. Polanco's letter to Nadal from Trent, November 1, 1562. *Epistolae Nadal*, II, 124 f.

## CHAPTER XVII

### *The Chalice and the Episcopate*

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WE MAY be sure that Laynez' first public address at the reconvened Council of Trent was an impressive sight, even after some of the comments of his enthusiastic biographers have been discounted. It was really an incidental discussion on the Sacrifice of the Mass, added after all the other representatives had given their opinions. Almost a dozen years before, in 1551, he had spoken to the Council on the nature of a true sacrifice and on the conformity of the Mass to the strict definition of a sacrifice. The final point now taken up was an affirmation of Salmeron's proof to the effect that Christ had really and truly sacrificed Himself at the Last Supper.

#### SACRIFICIAL CHARACTER OF THE LAST SUPPER

August 26 was the day designated for Laynez' address, but the preceding speakers took so much time that the legates decided to postpone his appearance until the next day. News of this fact spread through the city with the result that the Church in which the meetings were held was crowded to the doors. Laynez could not be heard when he spoke from his place, and the presiding officers asked him to step up front. When he did this, he could not be heard at the rear of the building. The legates stopped him again, and ordered a pulpit from the theologians' meeting hall to be placed in the center of the church. While the janitors were fumbling through these arrangements, one of the bishops is supposed to have whispered: "Well,



they're setting up plenty of props; let's see whether the show is as good as the scenery." <sup>1</sup>

As usual, Laynez, experienced in public eloquence, did not disappoint his audience. For two hours and a half he ranged through the course of ecclesiastical history, the Old and New Testaments, the patristic writings, showing that more than forty of the early Latin and Greek authors had taught the true immolation of Christ in the Last Supper. Even the ancient heretics had not contradicted this teaching; Luther and his followers, innovators in so many things, were the first to question it. He proceeded to the doctrine of expiation and redemption in general and concluded by discussing the relationship between Christ's obedience and His crucifixion.<sup>2</sup>

#### COMMUNION UNDER BOTH SPECIES

Interesting and popular as was this discourse, it proved to be little more than a prelude to the important oration delivered ten days later on the highly controversial question of the chalice for the laity. This matter was not in itself among the most important questions discussed at the Council of Trent, but it was one that required an immense amount of tact and that long held the conciliar representatives in a state of restless anxiety. Nothing else in the Council brought the prelates, theologians, and imperial legates to their feet more frequently or with more vocal dissension. Laynez argued ably and at length against introducing the practice.

For laymen to receive Communion under both species was not a novelty in the Catholic Church. In the preceding century Pope Calixtus had granted the use of the chalice for certain parts of Bohemia in the hope of appeasing dissidents, but this hope was so forlorn that the succeeding pope, Pius II, retracted the privilege. Up to the twelfth century it was still the common practice throughout most of Christendom. Hence the proposition favored by Emperor Ferdinand I and Duke Albert V was one of practical utility and needed no dogmatic definition. The Emperor was convinced that the Lutherans could be appeased by the concession and accordingly instructed his delegates

<sup>1</sup> This is the story of Bartoli, whose fame does not rest upon his biographical accuracy. It is repeated in Astrain, *op. cit.*, II, 170 f. Polanco describes the scene in a letter to Canisius. Cf. Bramberger, *Epistolae et Acta*, III, 475-78.

<sup>2</sup> The discourse is not extant, but it is summarized in the Acts of the Council. Cf. Grisar, *op. cit.*, II, 212 ff.

not to relent until it had been granted. Even its most vigorous opponents, among whom were Salmeron and Laynez, never questioned for a moment that it was within the power of the pope to grant the chalice to the laity; and when a certain abbot, Richard of Vercelli, asserted that the proposal was heretical, he was sharply reproved by the presiding legate.

There is no other existing document from the Council of Trent which treats this question as thoroughly as the speech made by James Laynez. Pastor remarks:

The General of the Jesuits spoke on September 6, as the last and most impressive of the speakers. He elucidated the whole question from every point of view in an objective manner, treating it calmly, clearly, and with scholastic acumen. He expressly pointed out that it was merely a question of the practical appropriateness of the concession, and that neither the judgment of the Council nor the infallibility of the Pope was affected. His own view was that it was not salutary to allow the chalice to the laity, either generally or locally. . . . Although the majority of the fathers agreed with Laynez, a middle course was eventually adopted, and the decision of the whole matter was left to the Pope.<sup>3</sup>

Immediately after his oration, however, Laynez had the satisfaction of knowing that most of the proponents of the concession gave up hope of obtaining the Council's approval of the measure. The imperial ambassadors were made of stubborn stuff, refusing to give in even when they recognized the mighty influence Laynez exerted over his audience. They explained their failure by petulantly complaining to the Emperor:

All the Spaniards were against us, with the exception of the Bishop of Granada, and they seemed to be working in conspiracy rather than from Christian zeal. It is hardly possible that all the Spanish bishops would agree at the same time and on the same question, especially since it is well known that they disagree frequently on other questions. But in this case they spoke their opinions in such fashion that it was fairly evident they had planned everything beforehand. Doctor Laynez, the general of the Jesuits, who was granted papal faculties for expressing his opinions in the Council, was not satisfied to oppose us with a long oration, full of weak arguments and stinging words. He previously tried to persuade many

<sup>3</sup> Pastor, *op. cit.*, XV, 296. Canisius was in favor of granting the chalice to the laity, and argued ably on the Emperor's side.

of the bishops to his view; and he tenaciously kept to his own opinion in the session itself in the church.<sup>4</sup>

#### LAYNEZ' PERSONAL INFLUENCE

The charge of a prearranged coalition among the Spanish bishops is probably correct, for Laynez would not have thought it below his dignity to lobby against a measure which he considered positively harmful to the Church. If it was his private pleading and influence that brought the bishops from the Iberian peninsula to a common agreement on this point, the Jesuit could indeed pride himself on the accomplishment. In his first appearance at the early sessions of the Council of Trent, Laynez, together with Salmeron, was brushed off by these prelates as a somewhat shabby caricature of the Spanish clerical character. But the years between had changed all that. It made a difference that he was now the General of a fast-growing order, that he was a confidant of the popular Pius IV, that he had gained a continental reputation as a skillful debater and solid theologian.

The bishops could not have followed a better lead than that of Laynez, for neither they nor the imperial ambassadors had made an expert diagnosis of the heretical disease. On several occasions the Jesuit had been in intimate contact with the northern heretics themselves and with the vacillating Catholics who were demanding concession of the chalice. From his Jesuit representatives in Germany, England, France, everywhere in Europe, he was the recipient of a continual flow of information. Perhaps there was no one in Europe, besides the Pope, who had his synthesizing ability and the factual data, whereby practical deductions could be made about the Protestants. It was only reasonable, therefore, that he should use his knowledge in private conversations to influence the many conciliar representatives who thought that the Protestants were sincerely suggesting a permanent remedy.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Grisar (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, *Prolegomena*, pp. 15 f.) reproduces part of this letter, which was sent to the Emperor on September 18, 1562.

<sup>5</sup> Martin Luther himself had only one solution for obtaining harmony between the Church and the dissidents. "Agreement of doctrine is clearly impossible," he said in 1530, "unless the Pope is willing to abdicate his office." Four years earlier he had remarked that if the Council grants the concession for Communion under both species, the best way to show contempt of the Council would be to accept it under one species or not at all.



## HIS SPEECH

The speech itself is a model of Laynez' oratorical method, consisting of clear divisions and unequivocal arguments. After a short introduction explaining the question at hand, Laynez demonstrates with eight separate arguments that it would not be expedient to change the general custom then in practice or to abrogate the universal ecclesiastical law. In the next section he argues against the concession for any particular locality, diocese, or country. "We must investigate now," he says, "whether it is useful to give a dispensation for the use of the chalice in some particular cases. First, I will suppose that there are certain necessary or convenient factors in favor of it. Secondly, I will prove that this dispensation is not practical. Finally, I will answer the arguments which seem to prove that this concession should be made." In the last section he examines and compares all the proofs on both sides and concludes with the statement: "In this opinion of mine I think that I have followed the larger and better portion of the fathers of this Council."

The ambassadors of Ferdinand were chagrined at the tide of conciliar opinion directed against them by Laynez' speech. Like all good diplomats, however, they blandly tried again, this time introducing a decree in which the Council would simply recommend that Pius IV made the concession of the chalice. It was a subterfuge which could not get by the keen eye of Laynez. He successfully fought it on two grounds: first, because the reasons alleged in it for the concession were not so numerous or serious as the ambassadors asserted; secondly, because it would be foolish for the Council to recommend a measure on which it did not agree. The move would be a dangerous one because the heretics could afterward object to any recall of the concession on the score that a council had approved it.

The second defeat of the ambassadors was merely a prelude to their third attempt, which was made at the twenty-second session, held on September 17, 1562. Now it was a decree simply asking the Pontiff to take the whole matter in his own hands, and Laynez saw that the fathers were willing to pass it, if for no reason other than to get it out of the way. "I am not at all satisfied with this affair," he said, "and if the majority of the fathers approve it, I will approve it, but only on



condition that His Holiness is informed that this Council does not dare to give Him advice or to approve the dispensation.”<sup>6</sup>

On the same day, after the discussion about the chalice was finally terminated, the Council took up the question of holy orders. After some preliminary investigation and examination, the first of the theologians, Alphonsus Salmeron, gave his opinion on September 23, demonstrating from Scripture and the patristic writings that orders were truly a sacrament. Other theologians took their turn on the same subject, Polanco speaking on September 30. Three days later the fathers of the Council began work on the question, fully expecting to proceed with the same speed and smoothness that had characterized the theologians' sessions. But a new dispute arose, not as previously between secular ambassadors and ecclesiastical representatives, but among the fathers themselves.

#### SUPERIORITY OF BISHOPS

A special commission was appointed on October 3 for the purpose of drafting the decrees and canons on the sacrament of orders. It was composed of the archbishops of Zara and Reggio, the bishops of Coimbra, Leon, Nîmes, and Chenda, the General of the Servites, and James Laynez. To the Jesuit was given the honor and the task of formulating the whole draft, but perhaps even he did not foresee the tempest that would arise from the famous seventh canon: "If anyone shall say that bishops are not superior to priests . . . let him be anathema." At this the senior member of the commission, Peter Guerrero, archbishop of Granada, took immediate umbrage.

The fiery and colorful Guerrero was fond of Jesuits, sometimes asked Canisius to dinner, did many favors for the Society, was later an intimate admirer of that great Jesuit from his home town, Francis Suarez; but he was even more fond of his long-held opinion concerning the high dignity of the episcopate. As early as October 13, he demanded that the seventh canon be amended to read that bishops are

<sup>6</sup> The main speech delivered by Laynez on this question, *Consultatio de calice laicis porrigendo*, is published in Grisar, *op. cit.*, II, 24-74. At the end of this are appended the two short opinions given at the second and third attempt to have the decree passed. Cf. also Grisar's article, "Jakob Lainez und die Frage des Laienkelches auf dem Concil von Trient," in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, V, 672-720, and VI, 39-112, containing the text itself and a complete commentary upon it.

by *divine right* superior to priests. This was the spark to set off the battle of words, which was sometimes vigorous, sometimes comical, lasting until July of the following year. The dispute settled round the question of the divine right of bishops, and the Council split into two opposing groups, one headed by Laynez, stoutly supported by the Dominican Peter Soto, and the other by Guerrero with most of the French and Spanish bishops on his side.

The point at issue did not concern the right of the collective episcopal *magisterium*, but rather the origin of the power of each individual bishop. This power is divided into that of orders and that of jurisdiction, the first being the faculty to administer the sacraments of confirmation and holy orders, the other being the power which each bishop has to govern his own diocese. Guerrero maintained that episcopal jurisdiction effectively, or, in theological terminology, *in actu secundo*, comes immediately from God. Laynez held that this power comes only mediately, that is, it is conferred upon a bishop when the pope names him to a diocese and gives him the right to govern it.

For five days after Guerrero's assertion, the Council was in an uproar, and the papal legates were forced to write sorrowfully to Borromeo that things were out of control, that this affair had pushed all else into the background, that on the morrow they would hear the opinion of Laynez. On the next day, October 20, the Jesuit General spoke for three hours in the presence of every bishop, theologian, father, and lay representative of the Council. "The speech," remarks Pastor, "was a masterpiece, distinguished alike by its vast learning, its clearness, and its pertinency. It created an impression such as was scarcely made by any other address during the whole course of the Council. Many, even of his opponents, were convinced by the force of the arguments brought forward by Laynez, while others allowed themselves to be drawn into making violent, even personal, attacks upon him."<sup>7</sup>

The Jesuit prefaced his speech by stating that some of the men here

<sup>7</sup> Paolo Sarpi says: "No speech during the whole course of the Council was more praised and abused than this one." It was summarized by Pallavicini. Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XV, 301 f.; Astrain, *op. cit.*, II, 177 ff. Grisar devotes the whole first volume of his work on Laynez to this question of episcopal jurisdiction, reproducing the complete opinion as written by Laynez himself, pp. 1-370; the letter of the legates to Borromeo, p. 413.

present had tried to dissuade him from it. He would be considered a fawning flatterer of the Pope, they warned. He called God to witness that he spoke conscientiously and in a manner entirely free from the charge of adulation of papal authority. Seeking no favors, fearing no man, he had attended the Council under three different popes, Paul, Julius, and Pius, and he now saw no reason for changing his attitude or suppressing his words.

#### PAPAL PRIMACY

The fact is that from the beginning the Jesuit tradition was always one of defense of the prerogatives of the Holy See. No one had demonstrated this more than Laynez, especially at a time when Gallicanism was creeping into the very Council of the Church. Some of his opponents actually stated that each bishop has as much right and power in his own diocese as the pope, a theory which was as erroneous as it was disruptive of Church unity. Laynez fought them tooth and nail, and not on the mere grounds of policy and expediency, as they charged. His thesis had a bedrock foundation, a fact brought out more clearly when he later expanded the speech into a complete treatise on the subject. In it, as James Brodrick remarks, he "displays enough learning to make the fortune of a dozen ordinary theologians."<sup>8</sup>

Practically all correspondence from Trent now revolved around the troublesome question of episcopal power versus papal power. The presiding legates of the Council continually exchanged letters with Cardinal Borromeo on the subject, worrying how to break the seeming deadlock. Polanco's letters to other Jesuits are full of references to the affair, and begged prayers and Masses that it be settled. Besides those of the Jesuits, there are fully sixty-five letters sent within a few months, all explaining the problem or seeking a solution to it. Two days after Laynez' speech, Bishop Charles Visconti wrote high praise of it to Borromeo, and on the same day Archbishop Mutius Calino wrote of the various opinions on the question, confessing that he himself was not sure where he stood.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. his article, "The Jesuits at the Council of Trent," in *The Month* for February, 1930, p. 106, where he is referring to the complete and revised *De origine jurisdictionis episcoporum et de Romani Pontificis primatu*. The original three-hour speech of October 20, does not seem to have been written out by Laynez before delivery. The summary exists in Pallavicini, *op. cit.*, III, 18, 15, and is reproduced by Grisar, I, 371-82.



The matter of episcopal jurisdiction in relation to the Holy See was no mere theological quibble or obscure pedantry, and both Laynez and his opponents knew its importance. The chief proponent for episcopal authority, Peter Guerrero, loudly declared that he was ready to die for his belief. The Hungarian, George Drascovitz, bishop of Fünfkirchen, who had contended fiercely for the concession of the chalice, was likewise against Laynez on this point. The French were coming in on the side of the Spaniards, and the power of Cardinal du Bellay and Cardinal Charles de Guise would further paralyze the activities of the Council.

Through October and November, 1562, the more moderate and straight-thinking members of the Council tried to formulate the famous seventh canon in such a way that it would be satisfactory to both factions. Dominic Soto strove mightily to assuage Guerrero, who in turn would hear of nothing but a solemn definition of his pet hobby. Forty Italian prelates signed a petition to the legates asking them to speed up the proceedings so that they could go home. The legates then brought up more of the reform legislation, treating particularly of the duty of bishops to reside in their dioceses. But no one's heart was in this distraction, and the imminent arrival of the large French delegation gave excuse for a postponement from November 12 to November 26.

Charles de Guise, cardinal of Lorraine, arrived at Trent on November 13, with thirteen bishops, three abbots, and eighteen theologians, raising the total of French representatives to forty-one, and leading to the temporary fear that they would side with Guerrero. But the enigmatic Cardinal surprised everyone in his first speech by favoring the supremacy of the pope, and this in spite of the fact that nine months before he had frankly expressed approval of the Confession of Augsburg and the works of Luther and Melancthon. He was immediately drawn into both secret and open negotiations by men of both sides, and he worked unweariedly to solve the problem. In his speech of December 4, he proposed a different wording for the seventh canon: If anyone should say that bishops were not instituted in the Church by Christ, or that they are not by their holy ordination superior to priests: let him be anathema.

But the Cardinal missed the very point at issue—perhaps he did so



designedly—by speaking of the power of orders rather than of jurisdiction. He neglected to mention the dependence of bishops upon the pope for their power of jurisdiction, the very thesis for which Laynez argued so vehemently. He advised, however, that an eighth canon be added concerning the primacy of the pope. Cardinal Simonetta, one of the presidents of the Council, formed a special commission of nine men of different nations to discuss Guise's proposals. It was composed of five canonists, among whom were two future pontiffs, Ugo Boncompagni and John Fachinetti, and four theologians, the most important of whom was James Laynez.

After discussing the suggestion of De Guise, all the canonists on the committee agreed with Laynez, that it should be rejected, the Jesuit himself declaring that it contained the seed of a future schism. On December 9, Laynez rose to offer a solution of the difficulty and spoke for two solid hours in words that were more moderate and conciliatory than usual. He said there was no need of discussing the power of orders, since all admitted that it came directly from Christ. Jurisdiction, on the other hand, came immediately from the pope, who is not a mere negative instrument through whom this power proceeds. After repeating many of his previous arguments he finally asserted that the committee could not accept the formula for the seventh canon as given by the Cardinal of Lorraine. In order to break the deadlock which then held up the business of the Council, he suggested at the end of this speech that they should define the origin of orders from Christ and omit entirely any canon concerning episcopal jurisdiction.<sup>9</sup>

Laynez was well aware of the temper of Rome concerning the proposed changes in the canons, and it is almost as though he had suggested the words which Borromeo wrote to the legates on December 12. In this letter, written at Rome just three days after the Jesuit General's speech, there is declared the Pope's displeasure over Guise's ideas. They should avoid making a decision on the matter, or defer it to a future date. Instead of urging speed as he had on former occasions, His Holiness now advised them to proceed slowly and cautiously. Two days before Christmas, the papal secretary wrote again to the same effect, expressly stating that the question of episcopal

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Pallavicini, III, 19, 6; also Grisar, I, 382-85.

jurisdiction should be dropped, and the discussion be confined to episcopal orders and residence.<sup>10</sup>

About a week later, on the last day of the year, Laynez was writing to Cosmo de Medici, consoling him on the death of his wife, the Duchess of Florence. In this letter the Jesuit speaks of the patience needed in the trials of this life, but in a postscript he shows a tinge of impatience over the long delays at Trent. He thinks it would be a good idea for the Pope to order an end to the discussions on the dogmatic measures, and to name a few good prelates from each nation to settle the rest of the affairs. Things could be done more quickly in such a small group than in a great multitude of conflicting opinions and wills, but the way things are going "there is not much hope of a fruitful outcome."<sup>11</sup>

#### EPISCOPAL RESIDENCE

The stalemate caused by such conflicting opinions made it possible to bring up the question of episcopal residence, a matter which had been hinted at several times before. There was now a great deal of talk about the advisability of forcing bishops to remain in their own dioceses. Laynez maintained that there should be no dogmatic definition made in a question which was purely disciplinary and which could be handled by the pope as part of the whole reform movement. He had written a short treatise on the subject for Pius IV while at Rome, and this work was now distributed among the members of the Council.<sup>12</sup> His sane and careful exposition was perhaps most influential in avoiding another lengthy controversy.

There was eager hope, however, among the men who knew and supported Laynez' position, that he would have a chance to express his views on episcopal residence before the assembled fathers. The Jesuit himself wrote to Borgia on January 11 that he should like to speak

<sup>10</sup> Gisar, *ibid.*, pp. 455, 459, where these two letters are reproduced.

<sup>11</sup> Eleanor of Toledo, duchess of Florence, had died at Pisa just before Christmas. Despite the fact that Laynez had been much annoyed by her cloying personality, they had been excellent friends. On December 28, he wrote to Francis Strada, rector at Florence, asking for a complete account of her death, whether he was present, whether she received the last sacraments, whether the provisions of her last testament would include her among the founders of Jesuit colleges, and thus entitled to suffrages by all Jesuits. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, VI, 598 f., for this letter, and pp. 602-6 for the one to the Duke.

<sup>12</sup> Astrain, *op. cit.*, II, 183 f., indicates that this work was written at Trent at the instigation of the legates. It seems more probable, however, that Laynez had already done it as part of his reform efforts for the Pope. Cf. *supra*, p. 187.

on the matter as soon as possible but that headaches and fever were keeping him from all activities for a few days.<sup>13</sup> A week later he wrote again, mentioning not only his enforced inactivity but also the general slowness of the Council, which was becoming irksome to him.

The sickness, which seems to have been a kind of arthritis or gout, continued for an unexpectedly long time, as we see in a letter from Polanco (January 21) to Christopher Madrid, rector of the Jesuit house at Rome:

Father Laynez has written to Father Francis [Borgia] and so I will add nothing further, although I had thought of doing so. He was supposed to give his opinion on the question of the residence of bishops yesterday, Tuesday, which speech was anticipated by everyone perhaps more than any other given in the Council. But the inclement weather made his gout worse, and, since he could not speak, the meeting was called off. They are getting anxious about putting the decrees in order for the seventh session, and I doubt whether Father will have a chance to express his views. Today he got up from bed, and would have been well enough to attend, had there been a meeting. There is, of course, a sharp difference of opinion, some of the men being quite happy about his failure to give his speech on this question. Others, I believe, will urge him to put forth his views in some form, even if it should be outside the meeting.<sup>14</sup>

It was most probably at the instigation of these men that Laynez again circulated the short work he had written on the duty of episcopal residence.

During the first few months of 1563 a kind of apathy seemed to settle over Trent. It was almost as though the representatives had given up hope of achieving any sort of unanimity on the important seventh canon. They were also watching the movements of the Emperor, then at Innsbruck, where he seemed to be leaning more and more toward an alliance with the French. The latter were calling loudly for internal reform of the Church, for a recognition of conciliar supremacy over the pope, for a definition about the divine authority of bishops. Nadal, who had been at Trent for two months, and Canisius, who had left there at the end of the year, were instrumental in preventing any drastic imperial action. They worked hard to sooth the restless spirits of both Ferdinand and Maximilian.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, VI, 635 f., 645.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 656.

For a short while at Trent discussions were again resumed on the sacraments, and, on February 9, Salmeron spoke on matrimony. Interest soon died down once more. A few days later Cardinal Gonzaga, one of the presiding legates, asked Laynez and Polanco to go to Mantua concerning a Jesuit College that he wished to establish in his diocese. They made the short journey, returning to Trent on February 20, and reported to Gonzaga on the following day. After dining with the Cardinal, they discussed both the college and the Council at some length. At the end of the conversation the legate told Laynez that he felt ill. Within two weeks he was dead.

#### DEATH OF CARDINAL GONZAGA

Gonzaga, then fifty-seven years old, must have had some premonition of his approaching end, for on the day before Laynez' return to Trent he had declined the Pope's invitation to settle things with the Emperor at Innsbruck. Because of his family relation with Ferdinand he was the logical choice for the knotty problem. His great wealth was a large factor in paying the expenses of the Council, but his other fine qualities also made him an invaluable ally of Pius IV. As for Laynez and the Jesuits, they lost a powerful protector. The General and Salmeron visited him twice on March 2, the day he died, and Laynez heard his confession, administered extreme unction, read the Passion of our Lord at his request, and remained until the end.

On March 17, another of the presiding legates breathed his last. This was Cardinal Seripando, pious and learned general of the Augustinians, who had sometimes been a worthy theological opponent of James Laynez. Even though the Pope quickly replaced the deceased legates with Cardinals Morone and Navagiero, there was an inevitable delay before the Council could begin to function properly. Thus, during the months of March, April, and May the Council was practically at a standstill.



## CHAPTER XVIII

### *Defender of the Papacy*

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It is almost axiomatic that the decisions of the Catholic Church can never be hurried, that all details must be discussed from every angle before the final statement can be issued. These reasons may account, at least in part, for the slowness with which the Council of Trent functioned after the death of Gonzaga and Seripando. Behind the scenes there was a continual scurrying back and forth among the representatives. They knew the next business to be discussed was the sacrament of orders, particularly in regard to certain abuses, but each faction wished the discussion to be directed from its own angle. The French bishops tried by every means to emphasize the real or supposed abuses among the hierarchy at Rome. Guerrero kept insisting that the question of the divine right of bishops must be settled first. Others wished the Council to lay down new regulations for the election of the pope, and the Bishop of Paris supported a proposal to restore the popular and ancient election of the pope.

The battle of wits and ceaseless argument went on all during the months of external and official inactivity at Trent until May 12, 1563, when the fathers began to give their opinions one by one. Laynez listened to every word, watching the major trends of opinion and making mental notes against the time when he would make his own speech. This address occurred in his customary last place on the program on June 16, when he arose to a superb and vigorous defense of papal power. He knew that his words directly opposed the leanings of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine and outstanding French protector of the Society of Jesus. But Laynez could not compromise even at the

probable cost of losing the only great support the Jesuits had in France.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL REFORMS

Reformation, said Laynez to the full gathering of the Council, is a return of the Church to her former way of doing things, but it must always be considered under its double aspect of personal and external reform. The former is indispensable, intimately bound up with God's grace and our cooperation, and must always be considered in its reference to the immutable law of God. If this personal reform is not present, there is no great advantage in legislating for external reform, which, after all, is variable and rescindable like all positive law. Since human beings by themselves are liable to err, so also their decisions and elections can go awry. But clerics, because of their very state, are less likely to err than laymen, and the highest clerics, the pope and the cardinals, are still more immune from error.<sup>1</sup>

Layneze then declared himself opposed to any change in the current method of election to ecclesiastical office, particularly that of bishop. He declared that Drascovitz in his speech of May 28 had given a brief summary of his own experiences instead of an argument to support the change. This was an interesting charge, especially in view of the fact that Laynez deplored equally with Drascovitz the terrible state of the episcopacy in Germany. The latter had remarked that "many abuses had arisen in the elections, especially in Germany. Mere boys were permitted to become canons, even some who had been trained in the schools of the heretics. Nobility rather than learning was the condition for admission, so that when the time came for the creation of a bishop no worthy person could be found."<sup>2</sup>

Once more the Jesuit General returned to his rooted conviction that in the episcopacy the order must be carefully distinguished from the jurisdiction. On this basis he opposed those who contended that unconsecrated bishops could not have a vote in the Council, for this vote was merely a matter of jurisdiction. He disposed of the argument that titular bishops were not true bishops by demonstrating that orders made them so and that other bishops and priests ordained by them were accepted by the Church, which cannot err in such affairs.

<sup>1</sup> These opinions, together with the following, are taken from the *Primum votum de reformatione*, as edited by Grisar, II, 214-20. Cf. Theiner, II, 299; and Astrain, II, 188 f.

<sup>2</sup> Reported by Grisar, II, 217 f.

Furthermore, these titular bishops are an absolute necessity, especially in Germany, where the dioceses are too large to be governed by one man.

Finally, Laynez draws on the deep store of his own experience and knowledge to give advice on true reform. Both admission to the Church and administration of ecclesiastical office should be done according to canon law; and magistrates should see that the laws are obeyed. Priests should celebrate Mass, not once a month, but at least on every feast. Seminarians should be well educated. Benefices should not be given to relatives, for this practice has made possible the greatest ecclesiastical evil of the time. The power of dispensation, given immediately by Christ, cannot be taken away, but its abuses can be avoided if the people are instructed not to ask for them except for grave cause, and if the dispensation itself is given gratis. Any money payment that is made, should be given to the poor.

On the day following this discourse the faithful Polanco wrote to Borgia, describing its contents and the effects it produced. He said that the General had spoken for two full hours to an audience in which even his adversaries were hushed by the eloquence of his delivery, and with such cogency that the legates afterward asked him to write up the arguments so that they could be sent to Rome. A few days later the Secretary wrote to Louis Gonzales de Camara: "After our Father had spoken for more than an hour on some of the articles, he wished to stop for fear of tiring his listeners. But they made him continue until he had completely spoken his mind on all the articles, which consumed about two hours and a half. As usual, they had made him come down from his place to where the benches are in the middle of the hall so that all might hear him better. . . . Since then many requests have been made for copies of the speech, and even the legates sent a messenger to the house for it so that they can transmit it to Rome." <sup>3</sup>

Although the papal legates were fully in accord with Laynez' views and secretly rejoiced at his boldness in putting them forth, they still felt obliged to record their disavowal of the vigorous manner in which he had assailed the adversaries. Writing to Borromeo on June 17, they said:

<sup>3</sup> Polanco's letter is in *Monumenta Lainii*, VII, 148 ff. Cf. also Astrain, *op. cit.*, II, 189, concerning the letter to Camara.

Father Laynez, who was the last to speak, has given great cause for complaints and misunderstandings to the French and others who are desirous of reform, by declaring that the reform of the court pertains to our Lord. Now he has done good work in serving our Lord here, but he was not obliged to bring up this point since the question under discussion was *de jure positivo*. We are herewith enclosing his speech, and we fear that some wrong notions may be gained from it. Most of his points were well made, yet we would have liked it better had he not mentioned this one thing. The members of the Council erroneously think this is our own state of mind on the question, but the fact is that Laynez brought it up without our knowledge and consent.<sup>4</sup>

Also on June 17, the Archbishop of Jadra informed Cardinal Louis Cornaro of the "scandalous" way in which Laynez had given offense to many of the bishops by contending that the reform of the Curia should be undertaken by the pope himself and not by the Council.

This good father spoke ably on many things, but often enough he did not seem able to control his tongue, and he offended not only some of the others but even the papal legates themselves. I myself was offended when he said that it would be better to entrust the election of bishops to the judgment of one individual prince rather than to the multitude, because the crowd, as the common saying goes, is a beast of many heads and governs more with rashness than with prudence. "I always distrust a crowd," continued Laynez, "even a crowd of bishops." Such language is not very becoming. It almost puts on the same level the judgment of an illiterate mob with that of bishops and legates.<sup>5</sup>

#### LAYNEZ' POLITICAL THEORY

An interesting sidelight on Laynez' political theory can be gained from these words. His expression of distrust in the judgment of the multitude indicates that he did not hold the modern theory of the sovereignty of the people. If this is so—and his extant writings seem to prove that it is—he is strangely different from those mighty defenders of popular democracy—Bellarmine, Suarez, Mariana, and other later Jesuits. Since he never professedly wrote or spoke on the subject, it is perhaps unfair to label him anti-democratic. Rene Fülöp-Miller, however, seems to have discovered a Tridentine speech by

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Appendix of *Monumenta Lainii*, III, 820.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 821.



Layneze which is otherwise unavailable. In his *Power and Secret of the Jesuits*, he declares:

At the Council of Trent, Layneze expressed himself still more clearly about the fate that awaited a heretical ruler. Sovereign power, he declared in one of his celebrated discourses, was originally vested in the people, and had been voluntarily delegated by them to the monarch; if the sovereign should fail to govern in accordance with the wishes of his subjects, then they were free to reassert their prerogatives and depose the sovereign. This applies, he declared, more particularly in the case where the ruler of a Catholic country falls away from the faith which alone can procure salvation, and so brings about the eternal damnation of all his subjects.<sup>6</sup>

The fact is that Layneze made no reference to civil governments when he strenuously defended the monarchical character of Christ's one true Church. Because he defended the absolute religious authority of the pope, he was accused also of defending the abuses prevalent among the cardinals and other officials at the Roman Curia. Because he denied that anyone under God could dictate to the supreme pontiff, he was supposed to be in favor of the fiscal irregularities of papal hangers-on. Layneze and the Jesuits fought more zealously than anyone else to abolish these abuses, but they were more logical than others in maintaining that the authority of the pope must not be lessened in the process.<sup>7</sup>

#### TREATISE ON PAPAL AUTHORITY

It was no difficult job for Layneze, with the help of Polanco, to explain more fully in writing his opinion about the relations between council and pope. Boldly he wrote, for anyone who wished to read:

The Roman Pontiff is by divine right the pastor, ruler, and bishop of the universal Church. He is 'the head and foundation of the Church and has the plenitude of power. . . . Therefore he can be neither reformed nor

<sup>6</sup> *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits*, p. 315. He brings up this point in speaking of the Colloquy of Poissy; and again a hundred pages later (p. 430), in speaking of the Enlightenment in France, he says: "This time, it was the doctrine of the 'sovereignty of the people' which had been laid down by the Jesuits Layneze, Mariana, Suarez and Bellarmine, which now in Rousseau's treatise on the *Social Contract* underwent an unexpected resurrection." There is no one who would be more pleased than I to know that Layneze held this doctrine, but in the interest of truth it must be said that there are no grounds for asserting that he did. Cf. also Azagra, *op. cit.*, pp. 214 f.

<sup>7</sup> Polanco explains his distinction in a letter from Trent to Anthony Araoz, November 26, 1562. *Monumenta Lainii*, VI, 514 f.

judged by a council. . . . Since he sits upon the chair of Peter, that is, of the universal Church, he is there by divine institution, must be heard by everyone and judged by no one, not even by the Church itself which is ruled and governed by him. Hence Peter (I Pet. 2:18) orders that superiors should be obeyed, not only good and modest ones, but also the perverse. Therefore it is also necessary to obey the pontiff even if he were perverse, which he is not.<sup>8</sup>

In his careful and orderly way the Jesuit divides his treatise into five parts, showing first that the Council has no right to reform the pope. Secondly, the whole proposal is useless because it can never take place. The papal legates would have to propose the business to the Council, and this they could not do in the name of the Pope, or in their own names unless they were willing to start a schism. Thirdly, there is no necessity whatever for the change because all reformation can and should be handled by Rome. Finally, not only would the scheme be useless, but in its wake there would follow a great number of dangers and inconveniences, all of which he enumerates. Appended to these arguments by Laynez there is a list of authorities, comprising councils, popes, and canon laws, all supporting the statement that the pope himself is to rule the universal Church.

Even before he had prepared this written treatise at the request of the legates, Laynez took the wise course of calling personally on the Cardinal of Lorraine. He knew well that some of the French would never again be reconciled to him because of the anti-Gallican views expressed in the speech of June 16, but his friendship with the Cardinal was strong. Accordingly on the very next day he and Polanco went to assure him that the speech was not directed against anyone in particular. Laynez protested that he had no intention of offending anyone, but simply purposed refuting the erroneous ideas held by some theologians. But the Cardinal held no grudge against the Jesuit and, though he tenaciously maintained that the Council had the right to reform the pope and was superior to him, Laynez' speech made no difference in his love of the Society and its General.<sup>9</sup>

The Cardinal of Lorraine was now the real stumbling block to the progress of the Council, and at the end of June it seemed that his

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Grisar, II, 74-93, where the complete text of this treatise is given.

<sup>9</sup> This visit is reported by Polanco in a letter of June 17, to Christopher Madrid. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, VII, 145 ff.

bitter opposition to the canons on the sacrament of orders—and therefore to the doctrines held and taught by Laynez—would become permanent. On this occasion preference was shown the Spanish ambassadors in the shameful dispute with the French over precedence in the Cathedral of Trent. The Cardinal was nettled over it. He lost his temper to the extent of accusing Pius IV of simony in his election and threatened to take the charge up with the Council. A few days later he entirely reversed his attitude, pledged loyal support to the Pope, and withdrew his objections to the canons.

This strange occurrence in the attitude of Cardinal Guise has never been satisfactorily explained. Pastor comments with this remark: "Sudden changes from one extreme to the other are natural to the French character."<sup>10</sup> It is probable, however, that Laynez himself was instrumental in bringing about the change, since he was honored for judgment and good sense above all men by the Cardinal of Lorraine, and had frequent and easy access to him. After the Council the French prelate came as a guest of Laynez to the Jesuit house at Rome, and until his death remained the stout defender of the Society. Of course, there was the added influence of a papal offer to make him perpetual legate with special powers in France. Whatever may be the reason, his change of heart allowed the convening of the twenty-third session on July 15, 1563, after it had been postponed three times.

Here at last were the official definitions for which Laynez had fought so long and so strenuously. The sixth canon anathematized anyone who denied that the ecclesiastical hierarchy was instituted by divine ordinance. The seventh, among other things, condemned the supporters of the theory that ordination by a bishop is invalid without the consent or call of the people or of secular powers. The eighth was worded somewhat more indirectly than Laynez would have wished, but it certainly showed his doctrine of the superiority of the pope. It pronounced anathema on anyone "who maintains that the bishops, who are chosen by the authority of the Roman Pontiff, are not true and lawful bishops, but are merely a human deception."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XV, 335 f.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Denzinger—Bannwart, *Enchiridion symbolorum*, 966–68. About a week before this session, probably on July 6, Laynez had argued vehemently against the Spaniards and Cardinal Guise who wished the sixth canon to read that the hierarchy was instituted by Christ. The Jesuit maintained that this would say too much, giving the impression that both orders and jurisdiction come to the bishops immediately from Christ. The fact is



## THE SACRAMENT OF MATRIMONY

Even before the twenty-third session had been held, both Salmeron and Laynez were busy searching through patristic tomes, ecclesiastical laws, and conciliar decrees, in preparation for the discussions on the sacrament of marriage. The twenty-fourth session was also to treat of the reform of the clergy, particularly in regard to Church dignities, benefices, and pastorates. On this latter question Laynez had not only done a great deal of study but had enjoyed the tremendous advantage of working out specific plans of reform in various dioceses. He was therefore in an advantageous position to offer salutary advice.

On July 20, five days after the decrees on orders had been passed, the papal legates offered for debate eleven canons on the sacrament of matrimony. Added to these was a decree declaring that secret, or clandestine, marriages and those contracted by minors without the consent of their parents, were invalid. The main point of debate centered on clandestine marriages, which up to that time had been considered valid, but the question now became so involved that even the papal legates were divided in their opinions. Were these marriages valid according to positive and natural law; and if so, would it be a wise thing for the Church to place diriment impediments in their way, and thus invalidate them? Hosius, the cardinal legate, and Laynez, the papal theologian, argued against the decree invalidating them, even though both knew that Pius IV had expressly approved the decree. Of the four legates, only Navagiero favored it; Morone and Simonetta followed Hosius in dissenting.

## LAYNEZ' ERROR ON CLANDESTINE MARRIAGES

After the first discussions, the canons were withdrawn and revised, and then presented again on August 11. As a matter of fact, they were discussed intermittently until the solemn session was held in the late autumn, but Laynez rose to give his opinion on August 23. On this

that jurisdiction comes from the pope. Cf. Laynez' interesting argument on this point in Grisar, I, 385-91.

He suggested that the sixth canon be amended in one of three ways: a) Omit entirely any mention of the institution of the hierarchy; b) or, if the institution is included, there should be a clear statement to the effect that the Council is speaking only about orders; c) or, finally, the canon should read as follows: "If anyone maintains that in the Catholic Church there is no hierarchy, and that, made up of the orders of episcopacy, priesthood, and diaconate, it was not instituted by Christ, *anathama sit*."



occasion the Jesuit General made the first serious theological blunder in his long controversial career. He had slipped now and then in quoting or interpreting authorities which were not then available in perfect, critical editions; but on the question of secret marriages he went awry. His first demonstration, to the effect that these marriages were true and lawful according to the natural law, presented no difficulty. Secondly, he asserted that they should not be invalidated, and finally made the astounding statement that he doubted whether the Church itself has the power to invalidate them.

As Astrain remarks, "Every man has his deficiencies, and though the sincerity and clarity of Father Laynez were excellent, his brilliant intellect failed him."<sup>12</sup> It is not clear to what degree Salmeron agreed with Laynez on this question; and Polanco, a capable theologian in his own right, contents himself with simply recounting the words and actions of his superior. As early as August 1, he told Borgia of Laynez' opinion on clandestine marriages and the reasons why he could not agree with the other opinions. He wrote again to Borgia on the day Laynez spoke for two hours and a half on the sacrament of matrimony. "But in the matter of the invalidity of marriages, which I already mentioned, he not only doubted its expediency, but even whether the Church has such power; and so it does not seem to him that the Council ought to make such a decree."

The Council did not receive its solution for the question of clandestine marriages from the speech of Laynez, and the whole matter was carried over into September, occupying about half of that month. Meanwhile Pope Pius IV was eager to bring the Council to a definite conclusion, urging the legates to speed up the business as much as possible. The most important remaining subject was that of general reform, to which Laynez and Salmeron contributed a great deal of work. The formula for the articles on reform, already worked out, consisted of thirty-six chapters, the last of which concerned the relations between the Church and the secular princes.

At this point another unexpected snag held up the proceedings. For years all the civil powers—the Emperor, the French envoys, and the Spaniards—had been clamoring for a general reform, but when

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Astrain, *op. cit.*, II, 192. For Polanco's letters of August 1 and 23, cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, VII, 247, 299. The speech is mentioned also by Theiner, II, 268, and Pallavicini, XXIII, 4, 25.

they now read concrete proposals for their own reform they immediately changed their minds. Ferdinand I sped a courier from Vienna to Trent in three days with instructions for his representative, the Archbishop of Prague, to oppose the reform of princes. The French government ordered its envoys to leave the city at once, and requested the French bishops to leave the Council as soon as the question came up for discussion. On September 22, Du Ferrier declared to the Council that the French rulers had a God-given authority to dispose of the revenues and property of the clergy as well as of other subjects.

A few days later the Cardinal of Lorraine arrived at Rome, and was cordially welcomed and feted by Pius IV and the papal Curia. Guise was most happy to cement his hitherto vacillating friendship with the Pope and soon assured him that Du Ferrier's tirade was made without the authorization of the French King, Charles IX. With this knowledge the Pope was able, on October 2, to instruct the legates to disregard entirely the French protest and to proceed with the articles on reform.

#### HIS LAST ADDRESS AT THE COUNCIL

On that same day James Laynez rose to give his last formal speech to the Council of Trent. His words are not extant, except as summarized in the Acts of the Council, but the following letter of Polanco to Borgia describes the scene:

Yesterday, October 2, the prelates met to give their opinions about the twenty-one decrees on reform. At the morning session there still remained some time before dinner for Father Laynez to speak; but the legates and all the others, desirous of giving him a longer and more convenient period, did not wish him to speak in the morning. Thus, with the full approval of the prelates, he had the whole session to himself this afternoon; and, although he spoke almost till nightfall, there were no signs of fatigue in his audience. In fact, one man said he could have listened three hours more, and another said he was willing to listen for five hours more. He spoke in general on all the decrees, and afterward on each one of them in particular. Father Laynez gave his speech after other persons of rare learning, prudence, and authority had spoken, but he still found sufficient matter to speak for two and a half or three hours on very important points and, as his listeners remarked, he displayed no less judgment and prudence on practical points than deep learning on theoretical ones.

His words were received here with fairly unanimous appreciation, for, even though he touched the sore spots in all the kinds and grades of ecclesiastics, he did it in such wise that they could see clearly his zeal against abuses themselves and his charitable wish to give every grade its due credit. Ordinarily, of course, *veritas odium parit*, but it seems that this time the proverb has an exception, for, in speaking the truth as he saw it concerning the Pope, cardinals, bishops, canons, pastors, and other clerics, he seemed rather to conciliate them all than to exasperate any one of them. He touched upon certain matters of great importance against their temporal profit and honor and other things which they love inordinately, but at the same time he proposed certain corrective measures which I do not think can be displeasing even to men who are most deeply involved. If the execution of these measures displeases them, I still do not think they can be called anything but reasonable and proper means of reform.

While dealing with the question of religious orders, he also took occasion to discuss the institution of the Society and the progress which God our Lord has given it. He spoke briefly, as modesty demanded, in recommending the Society to all, and I do not think he performed this task unprofitably. He also gave the Council an opportunity to record its regard for the universities of Alcalá, Louvain, and Paris; exhorting, furthermore, that no one should have a prejudice against the Holy Office of the Inquisition, which is so necessary in these times and to which the Church of God owes so much. He recommended above all that all ecclesiastical grades should be united and subject to the supreme pontiff and vicar of Christ our Lord on earth.<sup>13</sup>

#### APPROBATION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

In the discussion on the articles of reform it was only logical that the question of religious orders should be considered, and in this matter, as Polanco hints, Laynez showed himself quietly alert to the particular problems of the Society of Jesus. His personality and influence had raised the whole Order to a new regard in the minds of the leading European churchmen assembled at Trent. Cardinal Hosius, without any suggestion on the part of Laynez, had written

<sup>13</sup> Laynez' remarks concerning the Inquisition show that he appreciated it as an institution. Its abuses were found in the men who staffed it, and the movement for general reform was to extend also to these men. The lengthy description given above is found in the *Polanci Complementa*, I, 396 f., a collection of Polanco's letters from 1541 to 1567, quite apart from the *Chronicon* in six volumes and the other commentaries, notes, and letters distributed throughout the various volumes of the *Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu*. As secretary for the first three Jesuit generals, and as historian of the Society of Jesus, Polanco probably put more words on paper than any other man of his century.



a letter of high praise to Borromeo in April, 1563, declaring that the Jesuits were the best means for restoring the true Church in Germany. On July 22, Laynez himself, anticipating the discussions on religious orders, asked Borromeo to put in a preliminary good word for the Jesuits, especially to the French bishops.

On August 4, Borromeo more than fulfilled the bare request of the Jesuit General. Communicating with the papal legates at Trent, he said in part:

It is not necessary for me to enlarge in telling Your Excellencies the reasons why the Supreme Pontiff protects the Society of Jesus in a particular manner, and the desire he has that the said Society enjoy among all nations and peoples the esteem and favor in which His Holiness regards it, for he is persuaded that Your Excellencies are of the same mind and for the same reasons. I ought merely to add that His Holiness has learned that the Society is not accepted in the Kingdom of France, unlike other religious orders approved by the Holy See, and that this rejection has occurred through the animosity of individuals rather than from any ill will on the part of the King and his advisers, a fact which Father Laynez knows only too well. The Pope has remitted the affair of the Parlement to a general council, and Father Laynez desires that when the Council treats of the regular clergy it should consider favorably his own point of view. May the Society, by means of this very Council, be accepted in France as it is among other nations. His Holiness declares that, when there happens an opportune time, Your Excellencies should do all that they think proper for the honor and benefit of the said Society. Moreover, if they judge it expedient to speak with the Cardinal of Lorraine, they should act in whatever way they think best so that he will handle this affair with his accustomed charity, for he is the protector of the same Society. Apart from the fact that these fathers are, as Your Excellencies know, the most obedient sons of His Holiness and the Holy See, they also have me for their protector and patron. Therefore I assure Your Excellencies that all the advantages and favors you do for them I will accept as done for myself.<sup>14</sup>

This letter had in itself only persuasive force. It was nothing more than a gentle reminder that the legates should protect the peculiar

<sup>14</sup> *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 823 f. Borromeo, though already a cardinal, had just received holy orders from Cardinal Celsi on July 17, 1563. He had made the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola under the direction of the Jesuit, John Baptist Ribera. His first Mass was celebrated publicly at St. Peter's and his second privately in the chapel which had been used by Ignatius Loyola at Rome. Laynez wishes him grace and success in the priesthood in the letter of July 22. Cf. *ibid.*, VII, 219.



constitutional details of the Society, for they needed no command to assist a group of men whom they personally favored. To approve the Society, however, in all its parts, an exception was required to the seventeenth chapter for the proposed reforms for religious orders. It was therein stated that novices must either be dismissed or receive their vows of profession at the end of the first year of trial.

The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, as planned by Ignatius Loyola and followed by his successors, required a novitiate of two years and then permitted novices to pronounce merely simple vows, reserving the profession of solemn vows till several years after ordination. Laynez therefore asked that the following statement be appended to the seventeenth chapter: "By this the Holy Synod does not mean to innovate anything, or to prohibit the clerics of the Society of Jesus to defer their profession in accord with their Institute, which has been approved by the Holy See."<sup>15</sup>

In his letter to Father Madrid on November 22, 1563, Polanco enthusiastically reports that the Council is going to give not merely a tacit approbation but a clear and express one to the Society. A few days later he wrote again: "They are now treating about regular clerics in the general congregations and have made some mention of our Society. Although Balthasar Mello and others, who either left the Society or were ejected from it, have made protestations to some of the principal prelates, they have by the grace of God gained little. There is not a man among all the prelates who has spoken a word against us; but all are most favorable. However, since the thing is not yet settled, I cannot give you more details."<sup>16</sup> A week later he was less sure of himself, and was content to tell Father Anthony Araoz: "I believe they have made favorable mention of our Society. But no express confirmation has been requested, because it is not really necessary, and has never been done up to now for other religious orders in the Church."

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Theiner, II, 487. More than two decades later (in 1568), Pius V cancelled this exception by ordering that the profession of solemn vows must be made by all religious before they could be ordained to the priesthood. Gregory XIII revoked this order in 1573, and the Tridentine exception is still in force today. Cf. Fichter, *Man of Spain: Francis Suarez*, pp. 95 f.

<sup>16</sup> *Monumenta Lainii*, VII, 498, 502, 511. In his *Chronicon*, V, 112, Polanco says: "Balthasar Mello, among others, had left the Society in Portugal. But he earnestly desired to be received again, and at Genoa he was readmitted by Father Baptist Viola. He behaved for a while, but afterward made it clear that very few of those who leave and then return to the Society give her any profit." Cf. also *Monumenta Lainii*, II, 200.

From November 23 to 27 the fathers of the Council gave their opinions on the proposed reform decrees, most of them approving the clause in favor of the Jesuits. It is true that no explicit confirmation was given to the Society by the Council as a whole, but the explanatory statement which Laynez had appended was actually improved during the discussions to read as follows: "By this, however, the Holy Synod does not mean to innovate anything, nor to prohibit anything, by which the order of clerics of the Society of Jesus can serve God and His Church in accord with their pious Institute, which has been approved by the Holy Apostolic See."

As Astrain has pointed out, three important modifications were thus made in favor of the Jesuits. The Society was called an *order of clerics*, distinguishing it clearly from monastic orders; its Institute was called *pious*, which indicates an implicit approbation of the Jesuit way of life. Lastly, the approval extended not only to the question of profession, but to *all the particulars* of the Jesuit Constitutions.

#### CLOSE OF THE COUNCIL

Thus it was with a feeling of relief and happiness that Laynez saw the twenty-fifth and last session of the Council of Trent come to an end on December 4, 1563. He had not only fought magnificently in defense of the Church and the papacy, but had seen fulfilled, as nearly as possible, Ignatius Loyola's ancient desire for conciliar approval of the Society of Jesus. This was a happy climax to the great Jesuit's life work, which was now drawing to a close.

Writers on ecclesiastical history have pointed out the importance of the Council, its achievements, difficulties, and disagreements. They have given full credit to this brilliant descendant of the chosen people who flashed like a meteor across the sky in the hour of the Church's direst need. For Laynez, who left Trent on December 10 with Salmeron, Nadal, and Polanco, the closing of the Council meant a return to the direct government of the Society at Rome, and a little more than a year of new trials and activities in the work of God's Church.

## CHAPTER XIX

### *The Last Year*

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AFTER the heroic and continual labor of almost two years at the Council of Trent, James Laynez was entitled to a leisurely and restful vacation. But it was not in the man's character to slow down the pace of his activities. Perhaps he was psychologically unable to do so. To tell of his exploits at Trent is to mention only a small fraction of the work he was doing in that city. As General of the Society he dictated more than two thousand letters of direction during that period, some of them settling problems in India, Japan, Ethiopia, and Brazil; others treating of the major ecclesiastical difficulties in France, Germany, and England; still others discussing the minutiae of the internal government of the Society.

The short distance from Trent to Rome required more than two months' traveling, and not an hour of it was wasted in dallying along the way. At Padua he and Nadal, who was now the recognized educational genius of all Europe, inspected the Jesuit college. With Salmeron he preached in the principal churches; with Polanco he gave orders and advice to a steady stream of visitors, particularly concerning the problems of Germany.

At Venice, where the Jesuits arrived on December 20, Laynez hoped to dispatch his business quickly, but he was delayed by the attractions of apostolic opportunities. He preached on Christmas Day and on the feast of the Holy Innocents. Polanco records the following:

Our Father also preached to a large crowd which had jammed itself into the Church of the Trinity adjoining our Church. He managed to teach Christian doctrine to the children and to the neglected class of people in

the city. He spoke also to another large congregation of people who were accustomed to perform pious works, and who held their meetings on holidays in order to spend those days more fruitfully in the divine service. He instructed, consoled, and encouraged them to achieve even greater spiritual progress. During those same days he preached with full success in still other churches, some of them belonging to the Society, and, as far as could be seen outwardly, he always impressed his large audiences. In hearing confessions and giving conferences, he accomplished just as much good.<sup>1</sup>

The same story is repeated of his activities at Ferrara, where he gave a sermon on the feast of the Circumcision before the Bishop, his old friend Hippolyte d'Este,<sup>2</sup> dined with Alphonse II, duke of Ferrara, and visited the schools. At Bologna he arrived in a feverish and worn-out state, but preached in the Jesuit church there and, as Polanco relates, "just as in other places, he gave himself to works of charity in the college and among his friends outside." At Imola he conferred with Bishop Francis Guerrin, who had been at the Council, and who wished to establish a Jesuit college in his diocese. At Forli his advice was asked by the magistrates about current civic disturbances.

#### AN ACCIDENT

Between Ancona and Loreto, Laynez had an accident that is worth recounting if merely to show the hazards of sixteenth-century travel and the fact that his secretary left nothing unobserved. Polanco relates:

On the road between Fano and Sinigaglia, God our Lord gave our Father a trial in this way: while fording a stream which at that particular time of year was swollen, he struck a spot that was deeper than the rest. Right there in the middle of the stream his mule was practically covered with water and unable to pull its legs out of the mud. The lay brother then came to the rescue, wading through the water and helping Father Laynez get the mule moving. Although they were soaking wet, our Lord wished them safe and sound. Thus, after the mule was relieved of its burden, it was able to pull itself out without much trouble.

<sup>1</sup> The interesting account of their journey from Trent to Rome is given in Polanco's letter of February 14, 1564, addressed to Father James Miron, Provincial of Portugal. Cf. *Complementa Polanci*, I, 429-37.

<sup>2</sup> The Cardinal of Ferrara, with whom Laynez had gone to the Colloquy of Poissy, was the son of Alphonse d'Este and the famous Lucretia Borgia, and was thus a blood relative of Father Francis Borgia.



But the next time man and mule came to grips, Laynez did not fare so well. After spending a few days at Loreto in the usual round of Jesuit and apostolic activities, says Polanco,

he decided to leave on the following day. Another accident no less trying than the first happened to him. The same mule was frightened by some buffaloes which it saw drawing a cart, and jumping aside suddenly it threw Father Laynez off. Besides receiving a blow on the side when he hit the ground, our Father was also hurt when the mule itself fell upon him. Since he was riding behind me, I did not see the accident, but those who saw it said that he was really in danger of his life. After Father had got up and mounted the mule, he admitted that it was a special grace from God that nothing more serious had happened. The middle finger-joint of his right hand had been pulled out of place, and it pained him afterward. Because of the injury to his side he lost some blood, and was forced to remain for three or four more days at Loreto.

#### ILLNESS

No further incident of this kind marred the journey through Macerata, Camerino, Spoleto, and Amelia to Rome, where the weary and dust-stained travelers were welcomed at the Jesuit house on February 12, 1564. Almost the first act performed by Laynez upon his return was the appointment of Francis Borgia in the place of Louis Gonzales de Camara as assistant for the province of Spain and Portugal. A few days later the General began to suffer from a complicated sickness of catarrh, asthma, and fever, which left him for only short periods at a time, until his death a little more than ten months later.

Toward the end of April, Polanco wrote to the Spanish Jesuits, telling them briefly of Laynez' activities since his return and particularly of his illness.

In the middle of February I wrote about our long journey of more than two months from Trent to Rome. Since then our Father has been greatly troubled by sickness; first it was catarrh and fever, which put him in close danger of death; then, when he seemed to be convalescing, he took a turn for the worse on Palm Sunday, suffering from colic and calculus, and also fever. When he was almost recovered from this, he got an attack of the gout, which has confined him to his room. May God be praised, who, we hope, through the prayers of Your Reverences, will give him the use of his health for the divine ministry.

During one of his recent periods of convalescence he went to St. Peter's to pay respects to His Holiness, whom he had not seen since leaving for France [June, 1561]. He was received with manifestations of great love and appreciation for his labors, and so forth. And after he [Layne] had withdrawn, His Holiness told the companions who had also come to pay their respects, that he was much concerned over the health of our Father, which was most necessary for the good progress of the Church.<sup>3</sup>

## CHARLES BORROMEO

It is a curious commentary on the character of Pius IV that, almost simultaneously with these marks of favor toward Laynez, he should also give a command that seemed to show displeasure with the great Jesuit. The Pope's nephew and secretary, Charles Borromeo, was commonly reputed to be under the thumb of the Jesuits, and the asceticism which he had begun to practice seemed to stem from the advice of Ribera and Laynez. The Pope wanted Cardinal Borromeo to keep up his station in the world; when he saw that the young man wished to maintain only a modest household and a minimum of servants, he decided to cut him off from the influence of the Jesuits. Accordingly his personal command was that Laynez and Ribera would be punished if they so much as entered the residence of the Cardinal.<sup>4</sup>

There can be no doubt that the influence of both John Baptist Ribera and James Laynez was most prominent in the sanctification of Charles Borromeo. He clearly showed the mark of Jesuit spirituality, which, however, he sometimes inadvisedly carried to extremes. His life, said Girolamo Soranzo in June, 1563, "is most innocent, and absolutely blameless; by his religious attitude he gives an example which could not be surpassed. His exemplary manner of life is all the more worthy of praise as he is in the flower of his age and is the very powerful nephew of a pope, and lives at a court where the opportunity of enjoying pleasures of every kind is certainly not wanting to him."<sup>5</sup>

All this religious attitude was duly recognized by observant people at Rome, but some thought that Borromeo was carrying his ideals too far. Others charged the Jesuits with a design to extract money from him, and even to prevail upon him to enter the Society. Polanco re-

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Complementa Polanci*, I, 445.

<sup>4</sup> The prohibition was meant only for these two men. The messenger who delivered the order took it upon himself to extend it to all the Jesuits. Cf. *Canisii epistolae*, IV, 532.

<sup>5</sup> Reported by Pastor, *op. cit.*, XV, 121.

futed these charges in a letter to the Jesuit Superior of the Province of Toledo, John de Valderrabano, on April 25, 1564.

It is likely that certain rumors will reach you from here, and I wish to advise Your Reverence what is going on, so that you can give explanations when they are necessary. Cardinal Borromeo is a man of fine character, desirous of doing good, and is quite friendly with some of our men. He asked their opinions in matters touching his conscience and the progress of his soul, and they have given him some spiritual principles taken from the salutary teachings of the doctors and Fathers. The good Cardinal also gets spiritual direction from many others, and if we can judge from the effects, these men are much more narrow and rigorous in their views than we are. Now it may be from this cause, or from some other, that he has become a melancholy and retired character, seemingly intent upon depriving himself of even some modest recreation, such as taking the air or a little exercise. He studies very much in certain learned Academies, thus occupying all his time, which could be better spent in carrying out his duties as principal assistant to the Pope. And all this is really contrary to our own opinions and teaching.

But some malicious tongues, like people who do not know what is going on, have placed the blame of these things on our men and have given that impression to the Pope. Cardinal Borromeo also wishes to reside in his own diocese for a while, get rid of some of his benefices (of which he says he has too many), distribute the income from them, give large alms from his other ecclesiastical incomes, reform his house and table and everything else. His intentions in this regard have raised a great cloud of dust against us; and we are also held responsible as the originators of the following ideas: that he has desired to give us six thousand ducats of his income for the College at Rome, and a hundred thousand ducats in cash, and that he would give us a monastery. Furthermore, it has been rumored that he wishes to enter the Society. All of these things are false. In reference to this last rumor of giving up the cardinalate for us, we have not requested it of him, nor has he offered it, much less even spoken or thought of giving up his position. So far as certain exterior manifestations of his spiritual attitude are concerned, he has advanced in these things more rapidly and quickly than would have been advised had he asked our counsel about them. For there are other things of more importance which ought to be done first.

Certain contemplatives who do not approve of his example, nevertheless feel that they are in some way obliged to imitate him, and they have persuaded others to talk to the Pope, putting the blame of these extreme meas-

ures on his nephew's conversations with our men. Be that as it may, the Pope sent a messenger to inform our Father that until he, Laynez, had spoken with the Pope, he was to abstain from all dealings with Cardinal Borromeo; and the same order obliged another priest of the house [Father Ribera], who was also quite familiar with the Cardinal. Since our Father is now confined to his room with the gout, he has not been able to speak with His Holiness. But when he can, he will go and give him the facts. It can be hoped with full confidence that, if the Pope understands the truth of what is going on, he will not only withdraw the prohibition of dealing with his nephew, but will approve of such dealings and even request them. Undoubtedly it is difficult to speak at length with His Holiness because of his [Layneze's] condition and lack of health. We shall see what happens, and let you know. It is understood here that many men of good will are edified by the prohibition.<sup>6</sup>

#### RELATIONS WITH PIUS IV

As soon as he was able to visit the Pope, Laynez explained the entire situation in accord with the reasoning given by Polanco in the above letter. As usual, Pius IV was most gracious in listening to his persuasive theologian, and immediately lifted the ban against Laynez's communication with Borromeo. In the middle of May, when Laynez was at Frascati for a few days' rest, the Pope himself came to visit the Jesuit College there. It was on this occasion that Pius IV declared he would himself be the cardinal protector of the Society since the Jesuit General begged him not to appoint anyone in place of the recently deceased Cardinal Carpi.<sup>7</sup>

These same cordial relations between Pope and General continued unchanged, and, on July 31, 1564, the eighth anniversary of the death of Ignatius Loyola, Pius IV brought his whole retinue to visit the Jesuit residence at Rome. We can imagine Polanco late that night glowing with excitement as he wrote to Father Santacruz:

This morning His Holiness did us the favor of coming to visit our house and church with many cardinals. He wished to look at the garden, and even the refectory and kitchen, where he did not remain except to see what was being prepared there. Afterward he went to visit our college,

<sup>6</sup> *Complementa Polanci*, I, 449 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 455, in Polanco's letter of May 19, 1564, to the same Father Valderrabano. Thus was one of Ignatius Loyola's fondest dreams for the Society realized: that the members of his order should be under the direct and immediate command of Christ's vicar.



where there was a celebration including a sermon and some poetic compositions in the fifteen or sixteen languages represented there. Here also he saw the garden and the church—which is still under construction—and other parts of the house, especially the refectory, which was then entirely empty. We showed him the place planned for the seminary, and he thought it very good. Then he went to the German College, and even climbed up to look at the living quarters. When His Holiness and his companions finally passed judgment on the whole thing, they seemed to be most satisfied. He indicated that he desired to do even more than he has done up to now for the Society at Rome.<sup>8</sup>

The Pope's interest in the physical appurtenances of the Jesuit college was more than a mere passing fancy. He was heartily in favor of the decision taken at Trent about the opening of seminaries in the various dioceses. Jesuit success in educating youths, and particularly in the management of the German College at Rome, established by Ignatius Loyola, made him decide to entrust the proposed Roman seminary to their care. Even before Laynez returned from Trent, His Holiness had called a meeting of ten cardinals and various other dignitaries, all of whom agreed to give the direction of the seminary to the Society. In April, James Laynez had willingly accepted the assignment for his men, but he soon began to wonder where he would get the necessary funds to carry it out.

At the end of July, 1564, Laynez told Michael Torres that "without our having asked it or solicited it, the Pope has given us charge of the seminary of Rome, even though various cardinals, together with the canons of St. Peter's, St. John Lateran's, St. Mary Major's, and most of the clergy of Rome, were opposed to it. Please God our Lord that it may be for His service. As we understand it, they have given us the bones without any meat, and we are not in danger of dying from indigestion."<sup>9</sup> The same lack of finances had been a problem with the Roman Jesuits when Laynez was at Trent, and he was forced fre-

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 481, in Polanco's letter to Peter Santacruz. The sermon on this occasion was delivered by the eloquent and celebrated Father Peter Perpiña, and is preserved as the seventh sermon in the first volume of his collected works.

<sup>9</sup> *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 121 ff., letter of July 29, 1564. About a month and a half later, on September 12, Polanco wrote to Anthony Araoz as follows: "The clergy has made as much objection as it could to the seminary at Rome, and it does not seem that it can start this September or October." Cf. *Complementa Polanci*, I, 483. This seminary must not be confused with the Roman College—later to become the Gregorian University—which was founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1551 with money given by Francis Borgia. Cf. *Chronicon*, II, 165, and *S. Franciscus Borgia*, I, 555, 563.

quently to send them directions about the sale of properties to raise funds. But James Laynez would have been no follower of Ignatius Loyola had he refused to accept this added burden of the Roman seminary. He not only went ahead with it, but also arranged for seminaries at Naples, Siena, Parma, Milan, and other cities.

#### OPPOSITION

It was not enough that James Laynez should be forced to worry about the finances of a seminary that would be of unending benefit to the clergy of Rome. Despite the full support of the Pope, he had also to fight off the opposition of most of the priests and prelates of the city, who arose almost in a body to protest against Jesuit direction of the school. It was not that they were opposed to the seminary itself, or even to the Society of Jesus as such. They contended for the most part that an institution of this kind, destined to graduate secular priests like themselves, should be administered by the diocesan clergy, and they did not wish any religious order to control it.

Some of the prelates, however, were not so highminded in the statements they made about the Jesuits during the year 1564. According to Laynez' own admission, they charged the Society of Jesus with everything from ignorance to avarice. No seminarian would be ordained, they said, unless he passed scrutiny by the Jesuits, who would thus have virtual control over all prospective candidates for the priesthood. These religious priests were trying to get control also of all the ecclesiastical benefices so that only their favorites would receive them. The whole of Rome would be under the indirect authority of the Society, with the probable ultimate result that the Jesuits would practically govern the whole Catholic Church.<sup>10</sup>

As the year progressed, these sentiments became the foundation of a serious movement on the part of the secular clergy against the Society of Jesus. A certain titular bishop, Cesarini, who had been replaced in his position of official Visitor of the Roman parishes by a Jesuit, became the moving spirit of the opposition, composing anonymous tracts and pamphlets against the "domineering Jesuits." He attacked not only the general spiritual policies of the Society but also the private conduct of its members. These writings soon spread beyond Italy and into the northern countries, where the heretics

<sup>10</sup> Letter of June 22, 1564, to Anthony Araoz, in *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 48.

made gleeful use of them to show the disunity and scandal caused by the Jesuits at Rome.

Pius IV soon discovered the author of these mischievous accusations and, though he believed none of them, he asked the reform commission to investigate them all.<sup>11</sup> When he had received the commission's report to the effect that Cesarini's statements were unadulterated calumnies, he sent several briefs in recommendation of the Society to the principal persons in the heretical territories. Without any request on the part of Laynez, he directed these to Emperor Maximilian, the Duke of Bavaria, the ecclesiastical Electors, and Cardinal Truchsess.<sup>12</sup> The Pope further showed his faith in Laynez and the Society in November of that year by presenting to them the residence of Cardinal Carpi, former protector of the Society, who had died on May 2, 1564. They were to use this building as administrative headquarters of the new seminary.

#### THE ROMAN SEMINARY

In the presence of all these difficulties, James Laynez tried his best to comply with the desires of His Holiness concerning the opening of the new seminary. On November 6, Polanco told the Spanish Jesuits: "There are more than two hundred persons ready to enter, and an infinity of others on the waiting list. All of these can be received in the seminary, for it has taken over one of the principal palaces, and the students will now soon be admitted. This blessed seminary has been, and is being, most seriously opposed by the very men who have contributed to it. Much of the opposition has caught up with the members of the Society, who simply do their work without any motive of self-interest. It has gone to the extent of notorious pamphlets against the whole Society and its best-known members, to see whether we would give up for fear of the infamy and hatred which they have aroused against us. But it is no new thing for the Society to meet either blame or praise. The Pope has shown himself very angry against the author of these lampoons, and even has a mind to

<sup>11</sup> These attacks were of great concern to the Jesuits and were mentioned by many of them. Cf. *Epistolae Salmeronis*, I, 555 f.; *S. Franciscus Borgia*, III, 725; *Epistolae Nadal*, IV, 148-65.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Epistolae Canisii*, V, 11. Peter Canisius was working in the midst of the heretics and was delighted to know of the Pope's forthright defense and approval of the Society of Jesus.



punish thoroughly the main offenders, though the Society has asked nothing of the sort."<sup>13</sup>

The General of the Jesuits was as disappointed as the Pope that Rome could not be the first city to carry out the Tridentine decree about seminaries. Three were opened in Italy (at Rieti, Camerino, and Montepulciano), and one in Germany by the Bishop of Eichstadt, before the excitement against the Jesuits subsided enough to allow the opening of the seminary at Rome. Unfortunately Laynez died before the realization of his cherished plan. Finally the Pope ordered Cardinal Savelli to obtain the necessary funds, and in the middle of February, 1565, the first Jesuit rector, Father Peruschi, opened the doors for the first students.<sup>14</sup> By that time James Laynez had been dead almost a month.

Even before the third opening of the Council of Trent, Laynez had been working strenuously and planning wisely on behalf of a well-trained clergy. In his missionary work and preaching expeditions through Italy he had time and again bewailed the religious ignorance of the people and the slipshod training of the priests. At Trent he was the moving power behind the decree for seminaries and, together with Cardinals Morone and Borromeo, the most insistent and successful in carrying out that decree. By the strange stubbornness of envious men, he was deprived of the joy of seeing the Roman seminary in operation before his death.

#### LAYNEZ ON EDUCATION

Christian education, whether for ecclesiastics or for laymen, was no sudden hobby taken up in the last weary year of the Jesuit General's life. He had been the first to broach the subject of a distinctive Jesuit type of education, had taken a hand in the foundations of more than two dozen colleges, had recognized and employed the administrative abilities of Nadal in the continually expanding network of the Order's educational system. Besides all this, he had composed a hurried

<sup>13</sup> *Complementa Polanci*, I, 497. Almost two years after Laynez' death, Polanco remarked, on January 1, 1567, that "The fifth house of the Society at Rome is the seminary, having about 150 men. Twenty of these are Jesuits, some governing the whole seminary, others prefecting the rooms, helping in examinations, and in general filling the more important offices. . . . Although the whole enterprise was shot through with difficulties from the very beginning, it is now going along pretty well. The main opposition seems to have been overcome" (*ibid.*, p. 621).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Borgia's letter to Salmeron, February 18, 1565, in *Epistolae Salmeronis*, II, 6.



general blueprint of the model Christian student, the *Institutio Scholaris Christiani*, which may still be compared favorably with more modern and detailed programs of the same nature.<sup>15</sup>

This outline was evidently utilized by Laynez as the basis of the conferences he gave to the student bodies of Jesuit colleges on the journey to France and on the return from the Council of Trent. Everything is set down in brief, pregnant form, from which could be developed further thoughts necessary to each point. The immediate purpose of the student, he begins, is to learn wisdom; and this is a treasure containing everything else. It is more valuable than all the wealth of the world, and it makes the wise person contemptuous of a man who is merely wealthy. Since wisdom is compared to a treasure box, it can be opened only by the proper key, and this key must have four teeth: grace, nature, exercise, and external tutoring.

Thus, after a brief explanation of the purpose of study, the Jesuit exploits these four means for obtaining an education. Under the first heading he maintains firmly that the truly intellectual life requires a substratum of deep morality involving a good intention, prayer, purity of conscience, faith, hope, pleasure in study, humility, fortitude, and so on. In the matter of natural abilities there is likely to be considerable variance among students, and Laynez suggests ways in which both the apt and the inept can make progress. Thirdly, neither grace nor talent will avail without serious and continual practice in careful listening, reading, meditating, and repeating. Perseverance is important in all of this, for "the more perfect animals remain in the womb a longer time, the elephant for two years, and man eight or nine months; while a low animal, like a fly, is produced in a hurry." Finally, a good teacher is essential to a good student, and Laynez lists the qualities he considers necessary in a pedagogue.

The author of this outline exhibited in his own person all the qualities which he demanded of a first-rate teacher of Christian youths. "The preceptor should be a man of good habits, not too severe, nor talkative, nor given to long assignments. He ought to understand completely the things he is teaching, and confirm them

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Grisar, *op. cit.*, II, 442-63, where the text of this work is given; and also pp. 72 f. of the *Prolegomena*, where the whole plan is given in diagram form. Grisar states that he found this manuscript in worse condition than any of the others and was forced to make many corrections. See also the *Regulae pro Scholis*, probably composed still earlier by Laynez (*Monumenta paedagogica*, pp. 454-59).

with his own authority and power of reasoning. Finally, his purpose should be not to show off his own learning, but to desire that all his listeners grasp the knowledge he is imparting.”<sup>16</sup> All his life long he had been following his own advice: in lecturing to theological students at Rome, in teaching Christian doctrine to street urchins in half the cities of Italy, in preaching the word of God in crowded cathedrals, in speaking to the most learned men of Europe at the Council of Trent. If ever a man had the right to list the qualities necessary for a Christian educator, that man was James Laynez.

Ribadeneira remarked: “He used to bring out his thoughts and utter his opinions so clearly that every one could fully understand them. By his choice of words and his method of presentation he could clarify the most difficult concept; he would cast light on obscure ideas, uncover hidden knowledge, make the unknown understandable, tell old truths in a new way. In short, Laynez expressed things so precisely that he seemed to spread out every subject to the immediate gaze of his audience.”<sup>17</sup>

All these great powers were fading as the weary Jesuit General began the winter of his fifty-second year. In February, 1564, he had appointed four assistants—Borgia, Nadal, Madrid, and Polanco—and toward the end of the year he was delegating more and more of the Society’s administration to them, and leaning always more heavily on Polanco, who also remained his personal secretary.<sup>18</sup> As though he wished to catch up in one last glance the glory and accomplishments of his beloved Society of Jesus, he caused Polanco, on December 8, 1564, to send out a long letter of information concerning the Society and its Institute, its approval by Rome and Trent, its origin and progress, its members and their success.

#### JESUIT PROGRESS

One of the things indicating divine providence in the operation of the Society of Jesus, says this report,

<sup>16</sup> Grisar, *op. cit.*, II, 463.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, *Prolegomena*, p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> The Society was now divided into four assistencies with the following representatives: Francis Borgia for Portugal and the Spanish Provinces; Jerome Nadal for upper Germany and Austria; Christopher Madrid for Italy and Sicily; John Polanco for France, lower Germany, Brazil, and the Indies. Cf. Polanco’s *Commentariola*, Anno 1564.

is the progress which God has given this His least Society, desiring to be served by it so widely and in so many places. For in the short space of twenty-four years since it was approved, it has extended not only to all the provinces of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, but to all the kingdoms and dominions of Christendom, such as Spain, Portugal, France, Flanders, lower and upper Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland, working faithfully and fruitfully in the vineyard of the Lord. Jesuits have gone to the Levant, Cyprus, Alexandria, Cairo, and Ormuz; many have gone to the East Indies, even to Malacca and the Moluccas; some to the northern parts of China and Japan; some to the south, the Congo, Angola, Monomotapa, Ethiopia, and other parts of Africa; others to the west along the whole coast of Brazil; through so many lands and over so many seas that it has become a thing of wonder. And in those far regions they have not merely made temporary gains, but now maintain substantial residences in the principal cities, houses, colleges, and universities of all the branches of knowledge (except civil law and medicine, which are not according to our calling), and they are daily increasing more and more.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Complementa Polanci*, I, 498-526. There is no particular addressee mentioned for this long epistle. It was probably sent out in large numbers to both Jesuits and interested lay people and churchmen. Nadal annotated it to the effect that it was written by Polanco in the name of Laynez.

## CHAPTER XX

### *The Last Month*

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IT is doubtful whether James Laynez, sick as he was, recognized the slow approach of death before the beginning of the new year, 1565. He had endured so many sieges of serious illness, had suffered so many years with a variety of physical ailments, had more than once received the last sacraments of the Church. The duties of the generalate were as pressing as ever, and, since he was never a man to shirk labor, he tried to continue his work as though much time remained.

#### ATTITUDE TOWARD SUBJECTS

His watchful eye on the interior perfection of the Society detected the beginnings of a real danger with regard to the practice of religious poverty among some of the Jesuits. On November 11, he ordered Polanco to send out an admonition to all Jesuit provincials, calling attention to this defect. Some have become so accustomed to the niceties of life, he said, that they actually grumble when deprived of these things. They have become weak-kneed soldiers of Christ, and are a threat to that protective wall of voluntary poverty which surrounds religious life. The superiors are expected to set an example to their subjects and, if any special difficulties arise, they are to send in a detailed report of them to the General.<sup>1</sup>

It was typical of Laynez, as it had been of Loyola, that he wished no excesses in either direction among his men. The superiors should see to it that religious poverty is observed, but, on the other hand, they should not stint their subjects of the necessities of life. The spirit

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 289 f.



of poverty is the same among all Jesuits everywhere, but its external manifestation is a relative thing based by Jesuit Rule on the average way of life among the secular clergy. Laynez was not being merely diplomatic when he phrased all these commands in such a way that his Jesuits would neither be offended nor misdirected. Francis Borgia, the third General of the Society, used to say that there were two qualities for which he envied his predecessors, Ignatius for his prudence, and Laynez for the gentleness and sweetness of his heart.

This gentle consideration for his subjects is demonstrated in a letter to Robert Bellarmine, then a scholastic at Florence, whom he addresses as *Charissimo in Xro. fratello*.

Now I wish you to know why you are being sent to Monreale. First, so that your real talent in the humanities can be profitably employed by teaching the class in rhetoric. . . . Secondly, so that you can protect your health by limiting yourself to one hour in the morning, and another, or a little more, in the afternoon. Thirdly, because we really have the duty of sending out a good man to take that class this year, and you are the only one we could choose for the position. We owe it to the Duke of Savoy [Emanuel Philibert, founder of the College], and could not do otherwise. The city is a restful place, and I hope that you enjoy health while employing yourself for this short time in easy work.<sup>2</sup>

#### ABSENCE OF NEPOTISM

The gentleness that characterized his dealings with others never permitted a deviation from principle. A letter, dated the same day as that to Bellarmine, gives Laynez' reasons for refusing to obtain a benefice for his nephew, James Lopez de Angunciana. Practically all his relatives in Spain had requested him to intercede for this worthy young man, and the Jesuit answers that, if they really knew the situation, they would not ask such favors.

For thirty years now I have been insisting that these same things are abuses which ought to be corrected. I have taught it in lectures and sermons, at the Council in consultation with men both important and unknown, in speech and writing, in works and example. And now, may God forbid that, sinner as I am, I should show a contradiction between my teaching and my actions. That would be a serious offense against our Lord, and a scandal to my fellow men. I know that you and every other person

<sup>2</sup> Given in *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 280 f. This letter was sent from Rome, October 28, 1564.

would be displeased with me if now in my old age I should begin to practice deception in favor of my relatives.<sup>3</sup>

Incidents of this sort show a calm determination never to swerve from honest convictions, and the fact is that Laynez absolutely refused to make even a single gesture toward nepotism. In the light of this attitude his actions toward his brother Christopher can be better understood. His associates at Rome and elsewhere never considered Laynez a harsh disciplinarian, but some of them, like Ribadeneira, thought at one time that he could have treated Christopher more leniently. Occasionally there must have been a struggle between two conflicting motives: his natural fraternal love for Christopher and his abiding sense of duty toward the Society of Jesus.

At any rate, once more before the end of his days, he turned an unindulgent eye toward that restless and troublesome younger brother, who was then sick and dejected at Coimbra, hiding his hurts under an assumed name. On November 23, 1564, Laynez ordered Polanco to write to Father Gonzales Alvarez concerning the man who now called himself Christopher de León:

From your letter of the third of last month we heard of Christopher de León's illness, and we assure you that the charity shown him by our fathers, both in spiritual and in temporal matters, will not go unrewarded in the sight of God. I told Father Laynez the substance of your remarks, and, since he did not know that the Bishop and the other person you mentioned were doing these things for Christopher on his behalf, he could not very well have prevented them. But knowing that Christopher has profited so little from these acts of kindness, he has ordered me to tell Your Reverence that no further help should be given him on behalf of the Society. Let the Bishop's representative be told that, as a favor to Father Laynez, they should not support his brother at episcopal expense, but should rather bid him Godspeed wherever he wishes to go. May God our Lord give him health of soul, which is much more important than a lessening of bodily illness.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The nephew in question was the son of Laynez' sister and brother-in-law, Elizabeth Coronel and Lupus Lopez de Angunciana, and the letter was addressed to Francis Hurtado de Mendoza, of Montecuto, a town in Calabria. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 258 f., and also IV, 210, note 17.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 312 ff. The bishop spoken of in this letter was the Augustinian, John Soares. Cf. *ibid.*, VII, 277 f. By this time Laynez' patience toward his brother was practically exhausted. For the reasons moving him to this seeming ruthlessness, cf. *supra*, pp. 174-78.

Details of this kind, concerning men both inside and outside the Society, were continually pressing for the attention and decision of the Jesuit General. There were now 3,500 Jesuits under his paternal guidance, dispersed among the 130 houses of the Order in eighteen provinces. Despite his poor health and the gruelling work entailed in this weighty responsibility, Laynez could not resist the invitation to give a course of sermons at Rome during the Advent of 1564. Toward the end of November, Borgia wrote to Araoz: "Our Father has been somewhat indisposed because of his asthma. He is now slightly improved though I doubt that he will be able to preach this Advent."<sup>5</sup> Laynez began his preaching valiantly enough, but was forced to abandon it after the third sermon. His eloquent tongue would never speak from another pulpit.

#### LAYNEZ' LAST DAYS

The strong will power of Europe's ablest theologian could no longer make demands of a pain-racked body. Even the medical treatment given the sick Jesuit seemed to hinder rather than improve his condition, and Laynez himself now realized that this would be his last Christmas on earth. When Borgia informed him that the Jesuits at Rome were praying for his recovery, he replied: *Utquid ego adhuc terram occupo?* indicating that his time of earthly labors was at an end. On the first day of the new year he felt well enough to take dinner with the community and to spend some time with them in pleasant conversation. But late in the afternoon he suffered a relapse, and most of his fellow Jesuits there gave up hope for his recovery.

Occasionally, however, he rallied during the next two weeks so that even Borgia, who was always with him, expressed surprise at his "sudden death." Borgia later wrote to Salmeron, who was too busy at Naples to come to the bedside of his dying friend. "There is no doubt that we have suffered a great loss in him," wrote Francis, "but we also hope that we have gained much; for the higher he is in heaven,

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *S. Franciscus Borgia*, III, 725. The recipient of this letter, Anthony Araoz, a headstrong but extremely capable Spaniard, was another of Laynez' worries during the last years of his life. Several times the General ordered him to come to Rome, but his official position at the royal court of Spain and also, apparently, his own inclinations prevented this. Philip II wanted him in Spain, and Loyola, Laynez, Borgia, as well as the whole General Congregation of 1565, could not bring Araoz to Rome. Cf. Astrain, *op. cit.*, II, 224-30. For some of his earlier conflicts, cf. *Epistolae Nadal*, II, 25, 40, 67, 69, *et passim*.

the more he can help us. One of the physicians gave us full confidence, and I can tell you that we did not think he would die so quickly. Since there were better consultants and better advisers among the doctors, they wished to give him some tea on the feast of the Epiphany. Father Laynez would not take it, but postponed it till the next day, saying: 'I wish to celebrate Mass tomorrow, and it will be my Viaticum. Therefore I do not wish to take the tea.' It was well that he did this, for it was the last Mass he celebrated. After that he seemed to get better, and I even thought he would be able to go out of the house again."<sup>6</sup>

In another letter, Francis Borgia gave an account of the last four days of James Laynez' life:

On January 16, he asked for Holy Communion in the form of Viaticum. He devoutly preferred that they should bring the Sacrament from the Church, even though he enjoyed the permission to have someone say Mass for him in the sick room. And so he received Communion that night, thinking it best not to wait till the morning. On the next day he sent a messenger to His Holiness to obtain the papal blessing and plenary indulgence, and to recommend to his prayers the Society which His Holiness had deigned to take under his protection. He received all this in every detail from His Holiness. Then on the seventeenth, after the noonday meal, he received absolution and the indulgence mentioned above, and of his own accord asked for extreme unction. He was fully conscious and showed special devotion in making the responses to the priest who was administering the sacrament.<sup>7</sup>

The priest who administered extreme unction to the dying General was none other than Father Borgia. At the request of Laynez, he had celebrated Mass that morning for him, but now the dying man declared that he wished no more Masses or prayers said for his recovery, "because they detain me." The four assistants—Borgia, Nadal, Madrid, and Polanco—were crowded into the sick room. When Laynez had received the holy oils, he bade them all farewell with a happy and contented countenance, as Borgia says, "that I will remember my whole life." The future General evidently saw some special meaning in the gaze which the dying General fixed upon him.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *S. Franciscus Borgia*, III, 734.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 727.

<sup>8</sup> This he told to Salmeron in a separate letter of February 3, 1565. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 734 f.



We have the following account of his last hours:

All that day till six o'clock in the evening he spent in colloquy and prayer with God, giving an example of patient conformity with the divine will, and expressing desires and hopes for eternal reward, so consonant with his life, preachings, and character.

On that same evening all the assistants went to his bedside to receive his blessing for ourselves and for the entire Society. He gave us this blessing, raising his hand to God, and asking Him to shower His graces upon us and to increase all manner of holiness in the Society.

During the first six hours of the night he was able to sleep a little. Then the bad humors went up to his head and also caused great pain in the chest and stomach . . . the abundant catarrh almost deprived him of his breathing, and he remained in that unconscious condition for forty-four hours, until two o'clock yesterday morning, the nineteenth of this month. All of this was a continuous purgatory for him, and a salutary sermon for those who came to see him and for the men who were his companions in the house and college. . . . We have every confidence here that our Lord will not permit him to delay too long in purgatory, for he has already been so purified, cleansed, and tried here below that he should be able to go directly before His divine sight. But do not omit the Masses and prayers which charity and the pious custom of the Society require.

This morning, the feast of SS. Fabian and Sebastian, the professed fathers assembled and, after saying Mass and recommending the matter to God, they chose Father Francis Borgia as vicar-general. Father Laynez did not wish to appoint anyone as vicar, but left the matter to those empowered by the Constitutions to fill this position. In acting thus, Father Laynez may have been moved by the example set by our holy Father Ignatius, or by his own humility, or by some other reason of which we know nothing.

In the afternoon we interred his body. By the devotion everyone showed in visiting the bier, in kissing his hand and asking some relic of him, and by the universal mourning that is evidenced in Rome, we get an idea of the cordial love and high esteem in which both our own men and outsiders have held Father Laynez. God our Lord be praised. May it please Him to give the Society a successor who will be as well able to promote His service and the utility of His Church.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 727 ff.; also *Complementa Polanci*, I, 533. The efficient Jesuits at Rome quickly adjusted themselves to Laynez' absence. In his *Commentariola*, Polanco wrote in an almost brusque fashion: "On January 19, our Father James Laynez died at the second hour of the night. . . . On January 20, all the professed who were at Rome met and elected, according to our Constitutions, Father Francis Borgia as vicar-general. On January 21, a general congregation of the Society was called (since the duties and authority of the commissaries cease with the death of the general) and all provincials

Thus the death scene of the second General of the Jesuits, the eloquent and learned Jew of Almazan, is told in simple and sorrowing terms by his saintly successor. Borgia did not exaggerate in telling of the crowds that came to kiss the dead man's hand. Ribadeneira remarks that even those cardinals who had lived longest at Rome could not recall a death which brought such sorrow to both the city and the papal court, where James Laynez had been esteemed as one of the most remarkable men of the age. The Dominican cardinal, Alessandrino, soon to be elected as Pope Pius V, declared that the Holy Apostolic See had lost its greatest weapon of defense by the death of Laynez. Cardinal Otto Truchsess, of Augsburg, immediately wrote a letter of condolence to the whole Society, in which he emphasized the unusual sanctity of the Jesuit's life. For months afterward letters from all parts of the world poured into Rome, most of them singing the same refrain of praise.

The body of James Laynez was interred at the epistle side of the high altar in the Jesuit Church at Rome, opposite that of his good friend and predecessor, Ignatius Loyola, who rested at the Gospel side. There it remained for more than a hundred years, venerated by thousands of people in whom his memory was kept fresh.

In 1667 the Jesuits of the Province of Toledo, which had Almazan, the birthplace of Laynez, under its jurisdiction, petitioned the General, John Paul Oliva, for the body of Laynez. This request was granted the same year, and the remains were placed in an elegant tomb in the chapel dedicated to St. Ignatius in the Church of St. Francis Xavier at Madrid.<sup>10</sup> The following epitaph, cut into a marble slab, was affixed to the wall:

VEN. P. M. DIDACVS LAYNEZ EX PRI-  
MIS DECEM SANCTI IGNATII PATRIBVS  
SOCIVS ATQVE SECVNDVS POST IPSVM  
PRAEPOSITVS GENERALIS

were ordered to come to Rome within five months." Cf. *Complementa Polanci*, II, 643. The last communication ordered by Laynez was sent out by his secretary on the very morning of his death. "Father General wishes to write to the Bishop of Coimbra, congratulating him on his safe return from Jerusalem, but he is so ill that he cannot even sign his name." *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 353. The Bishop, John Soares, was returning via Genoa, and the letter is addressed to Father Michael Botell of that city.

<sup>10</sup> When the Society of Jesus was suppressed under Charles III, this Church was rededicated to St. Isidore, and the mortuary chapel was renamed in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, VIII, 875 ff., *De Lainii sepulcro*.

NEC ENIM POSSET ALIVS ANTE ILLVM ESSE PRIMVS  
 NISI IGNATIVS. VIR IN OMNI LITERATVRA CLARVS  
 VIRTVTIBVS CLARIOR DVBIVM AN MAGIS SOCIETA-  
 TEM AVXERIT QVAM ILLVSTRARIT QVIPPE CONCILIO  
 TRIDENTINO SEMEL AC ITERVM INTERFVIT SVMMO  
 PATRVN HONORE HABITVS ET INTER CONCILII  
 THEOLOGOS ERVDITIONE MIRABILIS DENIQUE  
 CARDINALITIA PVRPVRA A SVMMO PONTIFICE  
 IVDICATVS EST DIGNVS NI REFVGISSET ATQVE IDEO  
 DIGNIOR ET QVOD MAIVS IN PETRI SEDE VACANTE  
 AB ALIQVIBVS CARDINALIBVS SVMMO SACERDOTIO  
 ETIAM SVFFRAGIIS DIGNVS EST HABITVS SIBI SOLI  
 INFIMVS TANDEM PLENIOR MERITIS QVAM ANNIS  
 ROMAE MIGRAVIT AD DOMINVM 19 IANVARIII  
 ANNO 1565 AETATIS 53  
 INDE EIVS OSSA HVC TRANSLATA ANNO 1667  
 IN PACE REQVIESCUNT

For almost 250 years the bones of James Laynez were left undisturbed and neglected behind these chiseled lines of eulogy. Then on January 7, 1913, the Jesuit, Ephraim Astudillo, opened the tomb to verify its contents. Three years later, on the feast of St. Ignatius, 1916, the tomb was again opened and the remains were removed to the Jesuit Professed House at Madrid. With them went the original marble slab, on the reverse of which a more modest epitaph was inscribed.

But the city in which Laynez achieved his greatest theological triumphs has not easily forgotten his glory. Father Brodrick writes:

In the Church of St. Mary Major at Trent there hangs today an old painting of the Council, in which all the more celebrated members are accurately represented. From a pulpit a speaker is addressing the assembled fathers. His features are quite clearly delineated and they are those of James Laynez. When in the nineteenth century it was decided to place statues of the chief figures of the Council in the same Church (not a Jesuit Church, by the way), Laynez was one of those honored, the others being the three Tridentine popes, the Cardinal Archbishop of Trent at the time of the Council, and St. Charles Borromeo.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> James Brodrick, "The Jesuits at the Council of Trent," article in *The Month*, February, 1930, p. 108.





## *Appendixes*



## APPENDIXES

### I

# *Ribadeneira's Description of Laynez*<sup>1</sup>

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FATHER LAYNEZ was of small stature and, despite his rather pallid and ghostly complexion, he had a cheerful countenance, usually wearing a modest and gentle smile. His nose was large and aquiline, his eyes vivid, flashing, and very clear. He was of a delicate constitution but well proportioned, broad chested, and large hearted. From childhood he had been physically weak, and as a man he was still further weakened by colic and kidney stones and occasionally by the gout.

In mental ability he was out of the ordinary, being both acute and profound, vehement and clear, unshaken and thorough. He understood things so quickly and lucidly that he seemed to learn by a kind of divine illumination or simple intuition rather than by the use of ordinary deduction. He had an insatiable thirst for reading, which he tried to appease by perusing books continually, hurrying through them and selecting passages of importance, which he jotted down in his notebooks. He was so assiduous in the study of the Sacred Scriptures that only the most pressing duties could take him away from them. With his natural inclinations and excellent talents, with continued application and the intellectual illumination granted him by the Lord, he read, summarized, and selected passages from almost all the authors in almost all the fields.

Although Father Laynez was eminent in every kind of learning, he

<sup>1</sup> Ribadeneira, *Vida del P. Lainez*, III, 16.

could still employ himself in many occupations which are contrary to the studious life but which he performed all his life for the service of the Church and the common good. Certainly, if we note the number of authors he read, the occupations and duties he performed, the years he spent in deep poverty in the hospitals, and his inability to stay long at one place, we are forced to conclude that God our Lord favored him with a special infusion of that knowledge by which he mightily served and glorified the Society of Jesus.

Passing over in silence many other things that could be written to confirm what I said above, I think it is enough to note one incident at the College at Padua. While he acted as rector, preacher, and confessor, and attended to other important business, he read through a volume of the works of Tostado in a very few days and made extremely careful and exact extracts from it. At Basan he preached and helped out every day during Lent, and at the same time read through all the tomes of the Councils. All his reading and note-taking was done with a definite purpose in mind. Father Salmeron once told me that, when he had read and transcribed all that Father Laynez had extracted from the books, he would often come across words and sentences for which he could see no possible use. When he asked about them, Laynez answered: "With this sentence and these words we can refute a certain heresy; this notation confirms what was decreed in a certain Council; this other would answer a certain objection." And he pointed out the purpose of other propositions that he had written down, things of which Father Salmeron did not even have an inkling.

As a child he had a great desire to receive the gift of wisdom. As a young man he prayed to our Lord for a knowledge of the truth. As an adult he acquired the method that won the admiration of the brilliant and learned men with whom he associated.



## *Layneze's Three Narrow Escapes from Drowning<sup>1</sup>*

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THE first occurred when he was an infant of a few months.<sup>2</sup> His mother was taking him on the road from Almazan to Sigüenza to visit her parents, and it was necessary to cross a brook then swollen by the rains. The horse upon which nurse and child were riding stumbled and fell into the stream. He would have been swept under unless his uncle had quickly grabbed his clothing and pulled him into the arms of his mother. She gave profound thanks to God, believing that she had received him a second time from His hands.

The second danger of drowning came to Father Laynez at Venice. He had been summoned there by the Prior, Andrew Lippomani, to use his great influence and prudence in helping to obtain the Senate's permission to unite the Priory of the Magdalen with our College at Padua. Father Ribadeneira, who was then studying at Padua, gives the following account of the incident in his unpublished book of Confessions: "During my time at Padua I once went over to Venice where Fathers Laynez and Claude Le Jay were staying. On May 1, 1548, we three, with another friend of the Society, went to visit the papal nuncio who was then at Muran on the outskirts of Venice,

<sup>1</sup> This account is taken from Boero, *Vida del Siervo de Dios Padre Diego Laynez*, Spanish translation by Ignatius Torre, S.J., I, 510 f.

<sup>2</sup> From this incident it is possible to conjecture that Laynez was born in January, 1512. The streams there are usually above their normal run in the spring of the year, which would place this accident at the end of April or beginning of May. Of course, sudden storms occurring at almost any time of the year would cause the streams to overflow, a fact which makes this conclusion a mere surmise.

about a mile from the city. Using the local mode of travel, we were riding in a gondola. Suddenly a storm blew up, the gondola began to fill with water, and the force of the wind drove us toward the open sea. Although I realized the danger, I did not tremble. I was confident that our Lord would not allow us to perish on such an occasion and to such a fate, because of the sanctity of those blessed fathers. With a great deal of trouble we went by a short and very dangerous route and arrived safely at a point beyond the town and the slums of that city. I recount this here because it seemed to me the greatest danger of my life, and because I am sure you would agree that I could not perish while in his company."

Father Laynez again narrowly escaped from drowning in 1551 while returning from his expedition to Africa. He said that the sailors called that storm the longest and most vehement in thirty years. Anyone reading the details in their proper setting must admire both the serenity of his mind in this close peril and his refusal to place himself in safety even at the instance of the Viceroy. He endured this great danger in an old and broken passageway, manifesting his confidence in God to those around him, telling all of them that "God will help them," as He did.

### III

## *Salmeron's Appreciation of Laynez<sup>1</sup>*

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I AM fully aware that I owe much to some of my contemporaries and also to men who have already died. There are still others of whom I should perhaps make appreciative mention, but one above all whom I cannot pass over in silence. This is Father James Laynez, of happy memory, former General of the Society of Jesus, a man who was as religious as he was learned. He was endowed with a singular, almost divine, intellect, well nigh miraculously informed in the subtleties of various branches of learning, and particularly acute in his knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures and in the writings of the ancient Fathers.

But a loftier and more facile eloquence than mine would be necessary to give a true description of his great merits. He was indeed my close friend, but I do not wish anyone to think that our friendship alone impels me to praise him. People who did not know him, however, might think that my faltering and uncultured words are a true portrayal of the mighty ornaments of his holy life and singular learning, which were fully revealed to the whole Church at the Council of Trent.

By a singular favor of God there existed between Father Laynez and myself, even before the beginnings of the Society, a certain intimate, mutual understanding and comradeship in life, religion, and studies. I do not think I could escape the charge of ingratitude unless I pointed out in this Preface that I have been tremendously inspired and encouraged by the studies and labors of this great man of God.

<sup>1</sup> Contained in the Preface to his *Commentarii in Evangelicam historiam*.

## *How to Use the Voice in Public Speaking*<sup>1</sup>

---

TO OBTAIN the right response, a correct modulation of the voice is required, one that is proper to both the topic and the audience. The space between the voice of the speaker and the ear of the listener is of such kind that when the orator shouts out confusedly, his audience, instead of being drawn to him, grows irritated and more distant. To understand this point more clearly, notice the three methods used by a speaker in any discourse. Either he teaches simply and narrates, or he influences the affections with an amiable and ingratiating persuasion, or he blames and reprehends. For each of these different purposes his voice must be employed in a different way. If he does not use his voice in the right way and at the right time, his speech will fail in effectiveness. A public speaker is like a musician; the more poorly he plays the instrument of his voice, the more surely will his composition lose its effect.

The orator, therefore, must follow a certain pattern or norm. When he speaks simply or teaches, he will use a natural tone. Here he would make a great mistake if he spoke precipitantly with flailing arms and noisy voice. Simple teaching and speaking ought to be like lecturing. Then the speaker succeeds in instructing his listeners, a task which cannot be done swiftly and noisely. The listener needs

<sup>1</sup> This is an extract from Laynez' treatise, *Monita pro iis, qui concionandi munus suscipiunt*. Cf. Grisar, *op. cit.*, II, 517-20. The whole treatise occupies thirty-six pages in Grisar's work.



this method, for the intellect prefers to contemplate truth slowly and quietly and wants this truth proposed with clarity. I do not mean that a man has to drone on in a cold and dull fashion. There is after all a correct norm. When I say that you should speak slowly, I do not mean that words should leak from your mouth drop by drop. There must always be a kind of vivacity in discourses, but of one sort in mere teaching and of another in persuasion.

To put the whole matter briefly: an orator who is merely narrating or teaching should use a well modulated and even tone, the words being distinct from one another, and the last syllables fully audible. He should proceed at a slow pace, speak in brief literary periods lest he run out of breath, and especially avoid speed. Finally, he must keep himself well under control, stop when his purpose is achieved, fix definite limits to his periods, give out everything very distinctly, so that he can keep his audience interested, hanging, as it were, on his very lips.

Those who always preach in great shouts are making a serious mistake. They think a speech will grow cold unless they yell furiously; and whether they are teaching or persuading, they do it with a loud clattering noise. There are others who are guiltless of this error but who do not know how to make proper pauses. They join everything together, never varying their inflection, rushing along, almost suffocating with words, and thus making their audience very wearied. Others do the very opposite. They separate their words too much, drag out the final syllables, scrupulously meditate between one period and the next; and thus their whole discourse grows cold. Then they feel that they ought to repeat it all, and at the end of each period they are completely tired out. Then they rest a while, gathering up their strength before proceeding further. Those who are usually guilty of this mistake find that their sermons lack conviction. They begin an overlong period with a thin voice, intending to become gradually more vehement toward the end. But the period is too long; their lungs give out, their strength is exhausted, their speech languishes, and their listeners go to sleep. The sacred orator can avoid all this by carefully attending to the above warnings.

The voice must be modulated in still another way when strong emotional appeal is desired. Then more vivid action and movement must be used so that the will can be affected. This is best achieved by both

allurement and reprehension, the first being a kind of amiability like paternal affection, whereas the other is a severity or masterly authority. Thus the audience can clearly perceive that the speaker reprehends them through his desire for the divine honor and a love of virtue rather than from mere anger.

Let us finish with this point. When the preacher simply narrates or teaches, he should employ a more or less uniform tone such as the lecturer uses in the classroom. However, the more he wishes to move the will of his listeners, the more emphatically he will speak so that he can reach the desired effect.

In general there are two rules to follow in using the voice. The first is that at the beginning of the speech a natural but clearly audible tone should be employed. Let the speaker imagine that he is dealing with two or three in the circle of his audience; he will fix his gaze on them and consider what voice he would use if he were carrying on a conversation with them alone. Certainly there are some speakers who would be received with derision if they conversed in private as they preach from the pulpit. Let them be assured that nothing can be achieved by shouting. They seem to be speaking to the beams in the ceiling rather than to an audience. And the listeners stand around as though the sermon were not being directed to them. Believe me, I have actually seen this happen. Most sacred orators who keep these facts in mind perform their duty well. No one would refuse to listen to an orator who speaks correctly, sincerely, and with the voice God gave him.

I would propose a second rule, which indeed has already been indicated. It should be the ceaseless endeavor of the orator that he speak from the heart. We readily see that when any man, whether learned or uncultured, speaks sincerely about anything, he quite naturally uses the correct tone and gestures. For instance, when two farmers meet on the road, they do not even know the meaning of the word rhetoric; but if one is trying to convince the other about some matter, he employs his voice and moves his hands and arms without even adverting to it. Likewise if he wants to blame someone, or scold him, his voice and gestures will be natural. Why is this? The answer is that the farmer, without even thinking of his voice, tries to persuade his friend to agree with him.

Therefore, this rule must be observed above all. Let the speaker be careful that his enthusiasm does not run away with him; let him strive always to speak for the benefit of his listeners. If he does this, the other requirements will soon be his; in fact they cannot be absent.

## *Advice to a Military Leader*

---

ILLUSTRIOUS Sir: The Abbot Jimenez showed me a note from Your Excellency in which you ask that all members of the Society should recommend to our Lord the enterprise upon which you are now engaged. I have already communicated your wishes to all and I hope in the Lord that they will faithfully comply with your request. Indeed, this would have been sufficient and there is no need to bother you with a special letter. But I take the liberty of writing to you because I desire in our Lord that all your enterprises, and particularly this one, should be blessed with great success.<sup>1</sup>

From my little knowledge of the Scriptures and from the slight experience I had in accompanying John de Vega's campaign to Africa, where our Lord gave me the privilege of preaching, hearing confessions, celebrating Mass, and ministering to the sick and wounded, I would judge that two things are necessary for Your Excellency.

The first is to depend upon divine wisdom and power rather than upon human. A well-laid plan, its proper execution, and victory itself, are divine gifts, while human wisdom is as floss and human power is mere weakness. Thus St. Augustine says that all the scriptural narrations of war teach us that God resists the proud men who trust only in themselves, and assists humble men, who think little of themselves but put confidence in God, their wisdom, fortitude, and courage. With this correct attitude it happens that such men are able to bear

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact the expedition ended disastrously. This letter was addressed to John de la Cerda, duke of Medinaceli, who had been appointed Viceroy of Sicily after the death of John de Vega. He was a man of high ability, protector of the Church and the Society, and a close friend of Peter Ribadeneira. Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, IV, 452-55.



difficulties and failures, nor do they become vain and arrogant when success comes to them. Instead, they give glory to God from whom comes every success; and I am sure that you had all this in mind when you asked for prayers, even from sinners. So I beg you to command that this principle be followed always in your territories, both by the religious and the whole people. I am confident that you and Madam [De la Cerda's wife, Joanna of Portugal] will not fail in this regard.

For the same reason I believe that our Lord will be very well served and Your Excellency much consoled if you send some good religious along on this expedition, men who will be true servants of God and who will seek the salvation of souls. By prayer and good example, by preaching and hearing confessions, by nursing the sick and helping the dying, these men will do a tremendous amount of good. They will teach the soldiers proper motives for fighting, keep them from quarreling among themselves, and will call them to task for blasphemies and gambling. Finally, I know that the soldiers of our nation will really profit from this, for by their peace of mind and confidence in God they will better fulfill their duties in the war. These religious are so much more necessary because the clerics in the military battalions (and I say this without prejudice to the good ones) are usually avaricious men seeking the purses of the poor sick soldiers rather than the salvation of their souls.<sup>2</sup>

My second suggestion is this: Although a man should not trust in his own wisdom and strength—for he is as nothing and is worth only what God values him to be—yet diligence on our part is also necessary, for we should not tempt the divine Majesty. So I do not doubt that Your Excellency will try to obtain capable advisers, and that at the time of your conferences you will raise your mind to our Lord, asking Him to give you the grace to make decisions that will be for His glory and the public good. Try also to have good captains and leaders who will not flee and who will retreat only when necessary. Let the soldiers be paid and rewarded; and let honors be given to those who deserve them; and let them be paid in more than mere words and vain promises. Let the blasphemers and notorious public sinners be punished.

<sup>2</sup> De la Cerda asked for and obtained seven Jesuits to accompany the expedition, two priests and five lay brothers. Their names are given *ibid.*, p. 454.

There should be a hospital equipped with all the necessary things and staffed by good religious, by surgeons, doctors, and barbers [minor surgeons], because frequently these men [in positions of this kind] are mere veterinarians and embalmers who kill the poor wounded soldiers. Let us hope in our Lord that He will assist Your Excellency in bringing this campaign to a successful close. Let us pray that He will give you the prudence to moderate the less essential labors and troubles so that the necessary ones can be undertaken as God our Lord wishes. May our Lord increase and preserve you in His holy grace.<sup>3</sup>

From Rome, August 13, 1559.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of Laynez' experiences as chaplain to the armed forces in Africa, cf. *ibid.*, I, 164 f.; also *supra*, chap. 7.

## VI

# *Practical Advice for Boys in Jesuit Schools*

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1. Students ought to apply themselves to their work, not for the sake of knowledge alone or for prizes and honors, but that their knowledge of the truth may help them and others to the honor and glory of God. But if knowledge itself sometimes brings us opportunities and dignities, we ought to consider it all as having come from God alone.

2. Besides this correct state of mind, however, it is desirable that students have a more or less sharp intelligence to grasp the things they read or hear, an ability to make judgments about them, a good memory to preserve them, and a real bent for studies so that they do not forget the knowledge which these faculties have enabled them to gather. They should be very grateful to God for such great benefits, and should not misuse the abilities meant to further the greater glory of God. Anyone who perceives that he is not endowed with these abilities ought to work that much harder to develop them through application and study. But if there is anyone so slow that progress in learning is impossible, he must know that his teachers, after having given him some moral training, will advise his parents not to allow the boy to waste time and effort.

3. Because literary studies engage the whole man, students must be warned not to take part in other pursuits, in playing games, or in getting into bad habits which can impede their full progress in studies to the glory of God. Since the acquisition of knowledge requires time, and since no one, except by God's special favor, is a

learned man in boyhood, they should be diligent in their studies and present every day at all the literary exercises. They should come before classes start, and not leave before they end. Nor may they attend the higher classes until they have fully completed the lower ones. Therefore when they first come to school they must give in their names to be written in the register and join the class to which they are assigned.

4. Students are not to have immoral books or to use the unexpurgated texts of authors who are suspect of heresy. Those who are living with their parents may not sell, destroy, or mark up their books without parental permission. The more advanced students will study at home before their lectures, but in class they must also listen carefully and attentively. They must not sleep or chatter or do anything else that may disturb the class. They should jot down what the teacher is saying and what they judge will be most useful for themselves.

5. They should also be alert and unconfused in examinations and repetitions. If they do not know the answers, let them ask the brighter boys, who in turn should help out in a way that is not boastful. Thus everyone concerned will better understand and remember the lessons.

6. At the appointed times they will carry on free and vigorous disputations but in such a way that kindness and good fellowship are not endangered, without any anger or rancor, yielding to the truth in a gentle and friendly manner, for truth is the purpose of all discussion. Whoever falls into error should correct it immediately. Arguments should be brief and clear, containing no personal recriminations, no contentiousness or impropriety. Omit anything that can impede the full explanation and knowledge of the truth. Speakers must stop as soon as the chairman gives the signal.

7. They shall study only the matter which the teacher assigns. This they will do at the proper hours in the morning and before dinner. Frequent repetitions, as well as clear and careful reading out loud, will help very much, especially before bedtime.

8. They will be extremely diligent in writing and in practicing literary style, an achievement most essential and helpful for posterity.

9. They will speak Latin grammatically, free from solecisms; the advanced students elegantly, but all students as well as they can. Since it is important that one's thoughts be made clear to others, all must be careful to read clearly and faultlessly.



10. In their private study at home they should not be curious about things prohibited, useless, or too far advanced, but about useful matters that do not exceed their capacities, such as subjects that are treated in class. They should be orderly, stable, moderate, and persevering in their studies and take care to preserve their health.

11. With the help of Christ, progress will be the reward of those who are most diligent in carrying out the prescriptions just enumerated, especially if they go to confession once a month and employ all care in their studies, in literary work, and in virtue. They will be sharers in all the prayers and good works which by the grace of God take place in our Society and in this college. Those who are unruly and give bad example to the others will receive proportionate punishment at the hands of the disciplinarian. If they are large boys unwilling to undergo the rod, who do not amend after several warnings, they will be expelled from our college. Our men will do everything free of charge, for the advantage of our fellow men and for the love and glory of Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our great and only reward and who is blessed forever.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These regulations, entitled *Quod ad studia attinet*, are the second part of an instruction issued by Laynez, *Regulae ad proficiendum in spiritu et litteris in scholis inferioribus*. The first part, *De moribus et pura conscientia*, treats of the moral training of students. Cf. *Monumenta paedagogica ante rationem studiorum*, pp. 454-59. It is not to be confused with the work discussed above, p. 253.

## VII

### *Letter to the Jesuits in India*<sup>1</sup>

---

MY DEAR Brothers in Christ: May the grace and peace of Christ our Lord be always in our souls.

It does not seem necessary to write a special letter to you since I often communicate with your superiors about essential matters. The usual letters sent from Portugal also edify and console the members of our Society. However, I wanted the satisfaction of writing and speaking to you at this time as a mark of my affection for you, whom I carry in my heart, inscribed and impressed upon my soul. I have ordered that all our men should say special prayers for you every day, not only here in the Professed House and the Roman College but also in all the European houses of the Society.

Thus by the prayers and intercessions of many men united in one intention, the divine goodness will deign to perfect you more and more, and at the same time make you better and sharper instruments of His divine mercy and providence in bringing many souls out of the darkness of infidelity and sin into the bright light of the knowledge, love, and freedom of the sons of God. In this difficult and often impeded service of God every care must be taken to help souls, so that those who begin along the right path may arrive at that ultimate and joyful destination, eternal happiness, for the enjoyment of which they were both created and redeemed by Christ our Lord.

My dear brothers, the divine goodness bestows a gift and a signal

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Monumenta Lainii*, IV, 15-19. This is the only one of Laynez' letters to appear in the *Epistolae praepositorum generalium*, collected by the secretary of the Society, Horace Oliver, at Rome in 1710. While the manuscripts of his other letters and works remained hidden away in various archives, he thus became known among his brethren mainly for zealous interest in the foreign missions.

favor upon those who are called from the vanity of the world to this least Society, and He also bestows grace upon the Society itself. But an even more special gift is given those who have the good fortune to be selected for work in a newly cultivated field. He does this because of the importance of the work itself and also for the privilege of those who are employed in it.

The great importance of this work is quite apparent. For it concerns not only the preservation and help of Christians, who are illumined by faith and possessed of the beginning and promise of salvation, a work which we ourselves are doing here. But it is concerned with bringing many others to a state of true and holy freedom, and of the adoptive sonship of God, making them coheirs of Christ our Lord in the heavenly kingdom and eternal happiness. Up to now these people have endured a sordid slavery to Satan and with him are sons of ire and perdition.

The privilege granted to those who do this work is demonstrated by the fact that God has not only presented many special gifts to you but has also allowed you to suffer reverses, difficulties which you bear for the love of Christ our Redeemer. You are lavishing your abilities and industry, and even your whole life, in continual dangers for His sake. By the exercise and merit of this saintly charism you are emulating the holy apostles and disciples, in whose footsteps you toil, carrying His name before all peoples, ready to live and die for the glory of His divine Majesty, for the salvation of souls whom He loved so dearly.

Although our love for you is not tempered with envy, nevertheless there are many here who are filled with the burning desire to share with you the labors of that high mission. Indeed if the favor were conceded to them all, you would shortly have a great number of companions. At the proper time we will send out as many as God wishes to select for that purpose, but there will still remain others who wish to go.

I can earnestly assure you of this one thing, my dear brothers: you have out there a real obligation to follow the perfect life and to acquire solid virtues. You have a great opportunity to cleanse yourselves in the fire of laborious tribulations and in the divine presence which is always with those who undertake troubles for His name. The greater the need for human consolation, the greater is the abundance of divine solace.

Concerning your labors in the conversion and preservation of souls, you should know that you will be more useful and efficient instruments of the divine power in proportion as you allow yourselves to be possessed, led, and governed by Him with greater purity, humility, obedience, patience, and charity. You ought to be convinced that all the members of the Society are intently observing your work. You are both a consolation and a help to us, for we are encouraged and improved in the divine service by the example of your virtue and holy labor.

Furthermore, my dear brothers, although you ought always to grow in your zeal for the divine honor and in your thirst for the salvation of souls, and show your devotion externally by works of charity and mercy toward others, yet you must use a certain caution in preserving your physical strength and take time also for spiritual refreshment. It is true that you have offered yourselves as a living sacrifice to God our Creator and Lord, and thus you intend to spend all your energies in the business of His service and glory and in the help of souls. But remember to do these things in such a way and with such judicious care of health and strength that your body can carry on its work for a longer time. The soul must not forget itself and grow drowsy over its own concerns while it attends overmuch to the concerns of others. As Christ our Lord has so well stated, there is no real profit in gaining the whole world at the expense of one's own soul. The more a man helps himself to spiritual perfection, the more he will be able to help others to the same end.

It is therefore necessary that you walk most warily "in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation" [Phil. 2:15] so that you will preserve your own integrity. Domestic safeguards, the vigilance of superiors, the regular order and customs of the Society, so far as all these cannot be fully enjoyed by you, must be proportionately replaced by the fear and love of God, by a solicitous observance of the essential vows and principles of our way of life. There should also be a proper spirit of recollection which can be maintained by daily prayer and by an examination of our own conscience and of the way in which we deal with others. But if you are so immersed in occupations that there is no time left for the regular meditations and examinations, you can still snatch a moment now and then to think of God, to raise your mind to Him and thus make up for the lack of the pre-



scribed spiritual exercise. This can be done whenever the duties toward your fellow men permit it.

In spite of the great rush of work, it is essential to retire once a year for the space of several days, as is the custom among our men who are involved in the conversion and salvation of Christians. Then you will be able to meditate profoundly, think of your own problems, renew your spirit, gain new courage, and consider deeply the manner in which you have dealt with others. Perhaps you can think of some necessary improvement for your own good and for the greater glory of God. Communicate with your superiors and obey them with as great a perfection as possible. In this way you will surrender yourselves completely to the divine wisdom, following the path of His most holy service; and I know that you are already doing this and also experiencing His sweet and paternal providence in your affairs.

With my whole heart, therefore, I implore that the infinitely high goodness will have special care over all of you and that you will always enjoy His grace. May He give you His holy blessing, with which you may grow constantly in virtue and in the size and quality of His holy service. May He lavish His grace upon all of you wherever you are so that you will always acknowledge and fulfill His divine will. I commend myself and all the brethren who are here to your good prayers.

From Rome, December 1, 1558.



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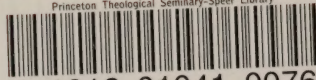


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